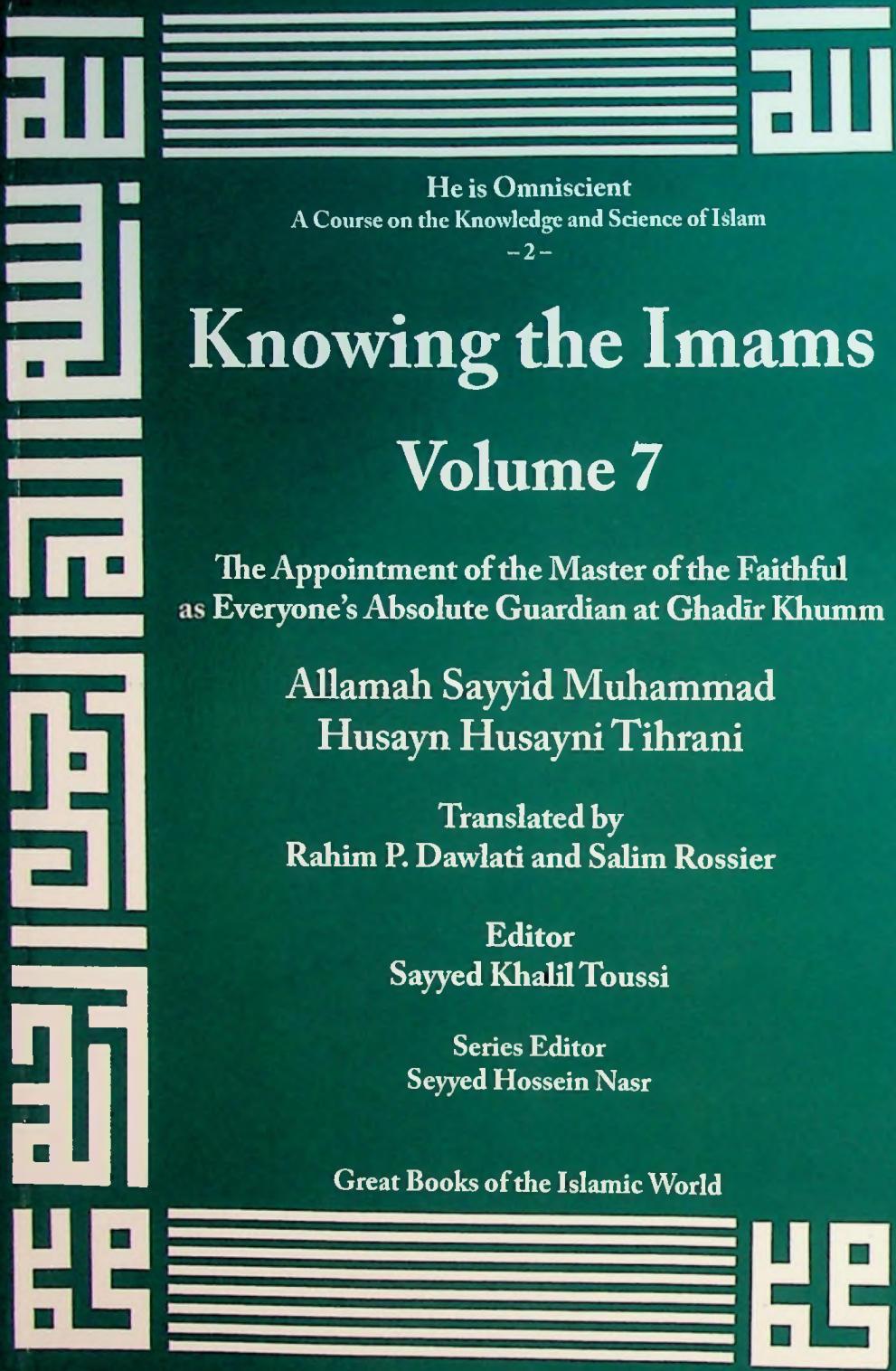

He is Omniscient
A Course on the Knowledge and Science of Islam
– 2 –

Knowing the Imams

Volume 7

The Appointment of the Master of the Faithful as Everyone's Absolute Guardian at Ghadīr Khumm

Allamah Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Husayni Tihrani

Translated by
Rahim P. Dawlati and Salim Rossier

Editor
Sayyed Khalil Toussi

Series Editor
Seyyed Hossein Nasr

Great Books of the Islamic World

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Volume 7

Comprising:
1. The Appointment of the Master of the Faithful as everyone's absolute Guardian at Ghadir Khumm
2. God's Messenger's sermon at Ghadir Khumm
3. Concerning the chain of transmission of "Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master."
4. Exegesis of what "Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master" means

Allamah Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Husayni Tihrani (1926-1995) was a respected intellectual, jurist, mystic and philosopher who trained and guided many students during his lifetime. He was an eloquent speaker and prolific writer, and left numerous books and treatises for later generations.

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Note: While it is common in Persian or Arabic to place blessings on the Prophet or the Imams (you may find an "as," "s," or "pbh" or something similar after the names of the Imams), it is not common practice in an English text. Readers should just say the phrase of blessings in their heart when they see reference to the Prophet or Imams.

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Lessons Ninety-One to Ninety-Three

The Appointment of Ali as Everyone's Absolute Guardian at Ghadīr Khumm

LESSONS NINETY-ONE TO NINETY-THREE

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

And blessing upon Muhammad and his pure Household, and God's curse on his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection! There is no power or strength except through the Lofty, Glorious God.

The Wise God says in His Glorious Book:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ وَإِن لَّمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ.

O Messenger, deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message, and God will protect you from people: surely God will not guide the unbelieving people (5:67).

يا سائلي عن حيدر اعييتني انا لست في هذا الجواب خليقا 1

الله سماه عليا باسمه فسما علوا في العلا وسموقا 2

واختاره دون الورى واقامه علما الى سبل الهدى وطريقا 3

اخذ الاله على البرية كلها عهد اله يوم الغدير وثيقا 4

وغداة وافى المصطفى اصحابه جمل الوصي له اخا وشقيقا 5

فرق الضلال عن الهدى فرقى ان جاوز الجوزاء والعيوقا 6

ودعاه املاك السماء بامر من اوحى اليهم حيدر الفاروقا 7

واجاب احمد سابقا ومصدقا ماجاء فيه فسمي الصديقا 8

فاذا ادعى هذه الاسامي غيره فليأتنا في شاهد توثيقا[1] 9

1. You, who asks about Ḥaydar—you have made me weary.
I am not in the mood to answer this question!

2. God named him Ali after His own Name
So he soared high and lofty into the sky.

3. God chose him instead of and before anyone else,
As a banner to paths of guidance, and a road.

4. And on the Day of Ghadīr, God committed all creatures to a firm covenant to him.

5. At a bright dawn, the Chosen One (Muṣṭafā) rendered his companions their full due, making his executor his sibling and brother.

6. Error became distinct from guidance,
And since then, Ali with this decent brother, soared so high that he passed Gemini and Capella!

7. By the command of Him Who revealed, the angels in Heaven called him Lion (Ḥaydar) and He Who Distinguishes [truth from falsehood] (Fārūq).

8. Prior to all, he took the lead and accepted Ahmad's call,
And confirmed what was revealed to Ahmad—thus, he was called the righteous one.

9. Therefore, if anyone else claims these titles, he should adduce corroborative proof!

Ḥāfiẓ Abū Nuᶜaym Iṣfahānī narrates via his chain from ᶜIkrimah from Ibn ᶜAbbās:

قال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه (وآله) وسلم: من سره ان يحيى حياتي، ويموت مماتي، ويسكن جنة عدن غرسها ربي، فليوال عليا من بعدي وليوال وليه، وليقتد بالائمة من بعدي، فانهم عترتي، خلقوا من طينتي، رزقوا فهما وعلما، وويل للمكذبين بفضلهم من امتي، القاطعين فيهم صلتي، لا اناالهم الله شفاعتي.[2]

God's Messenger said:

> Whoever is happy to live my life, die my death, and live in a Garden of Eden planted by my Lord should accept Ali as master after I die, flock under the banner of his governor, and follow the leaders (imams) [who are] after me, because they are my close family, created from my clay. They have been blessed with understanding and knowledge.
>
> Woe unto those in my nation who deny their merits and superiorities; [woe] unto those who ostracize me through them—may God not let my intercession reach them.

The account of the Master of the Faithful, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's, appointment as guardian at Ghadīr Khumm is an extremely important event in Islamic history. The world may even never have witnessed an event as important as it, or quite like it, as we shall explain to you. This is because it ensures the survival of the Prophet's message, and continuity of his divine guardianship, as manifested in the Master of the Faithful, Ali's, blessed existence.

Features of the Day of Ghadīr

Ghadīr shows the bond between prophethood and the imamate, prophethood and guardianship. They are like two breasts to feed a baby. They both have the same milk and nature. They are like two saplings growing from a single root.

The Ghadīr is a demonstration of

علی منی وانا منه

"Ali is part of me and I am part of him," before all the creatures'—the whole nation's—eyes; it is an announcement and communication of the truth for all people until the Day of Resurrection.

The Ghadīr is the locus of the manifestation of hidden truths and hidden mysteries, and guidance and direction for the people to this path.

The Ghadīr is mankind's straight path and high road to the status of Gnosis and universal guardianship.

The Ghadīr is a mold for the universal Divine Decree in the realm of apportionment and the measure, individualization, definition, and presentation of the endless Light of the One's Essence, via the Names, visible Attributes, and theophanies in creation, the link between the Pre-Eternal and creatures, the descent of incorporeality and incompositeness into contingent confines and limits, so as to be at the disposal of all creatures so that everyone can be sprayed by the fresh water and sweet spring of effusion, mercy, bliss, and blessing.

The Ghadīr was the day of the Master of the Faithful's coronation—when God's Messenger put the turban on his head with his blessed hand.

Ghadīr is the day of

من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه

"Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master."

Ghadīr is the Day for

اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، وانصر من نصره، واخذل من خذله

"O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Help whoever helps him and forsake whoever forsakes him." Ghadīr is the day of the pledge of allegiance to the Real. It is a day for obedience. It is a day for the soul to interact with its Creator, the day of the confrontation between Satan's army and the Merciful's; it is the day to leave the darkness and enter the light.

The Ghadīr is a day of friction: the day belief was distinguished from disbelief, sincerity from hypocrisy, purity from impurity, and darkness from light.

The Ghadīr is the day for the sunshine to emerge from behind the thick clouds and shine into the hearts of all beings.

The Ghadīr is the day of righteousness, for fear of Satan to dissipate, the end to dissimulation, the day of the revelation of the binding commandment to lift the veil off the face of guardianship and reveal its identity.

Ghadīr is the day of "Bravo, bravo to you, Ali! You have become morning and evening, the master of every believer, male or female.

بخ بخ لك يا علي اصبحت وامسيت مولاي ومولى كل مؤمن ومؤمنة

Ghadīr is the day of the greatest festival; it is the day when God's Messenger lifted Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib over the heads of all those present, delivered his famous sermon, and ordered the whole nation to obey the Master of the Pious's orders.

And all glorification and praise be to God that we have been blessed in our meager effort to explain this great event as a gift to God's Messenger and his brother, the bearer of Dhū al-Fiqār. It is a modest gift, like the locust's rib that the lark presented to Solomon.[3]

However, there are a few introductory matters that we have to address before discussing the Ghadīr.

One: Throughout His Prophethood, the Prophet Communicated the Fact That Imam Ali Would Be His successor

On the 18th of the holy month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, 10 AH, on the Farewell Pilgrimage at Ghadīr Khumm, two miles away from Juḥfah was not the first announcement of the Master of the Faithful as imam.

On the contrary, it was just a public announcement for everybody.

Prior to that, the Holy Prophet had repeatedly introduced him as such in both private and public assemblies—in peace time and war time, in Mecca and Medina, to any group familiar with [the imam].

On every occasion, God's Messenger referred to his character and recounted his merits as imam, guardian, successor, and caliph, and as his brother.

The Master of the Faithful was born in Mecca. When he was handed as a newborn in swaddling-clothes to the Prophet, the newborn imam recited the chapter commencing

قد افلح المؤمنون

...*surely the believers succeeded* (23:1). He then grew up under God's Messenger's direct care.

At the age of ten, he was the first male to believe in God's Messenger.

Ali said: "Revelation came down to God's Messenger on a Monday, and I became a believer on that Tuesday," in about the third or seventh year of proselytization. When the Prophet's proselytization was in its secret phase, no one else apart from Khadījah and Ali prayed with him around the Kaʿbah.

On that first occasion, when God's Messenger began publicly proselytizing at the gathering he had convened for his closest relatives, and he urged them to help him bear the burden of prophecy and assist him in performing tasks linked to the message, no one but Ali, that clever little child, whom the Prophet selected as his aide, successor, and guardian, answered his call.

On that day he stated:

فأيكم يوازرني هذا الامر وان يكون اخي ووصيي وخليفتي فيكم من بعدي؟

"Which of you will assist me in this matter and be my brother, executor, and successor (*khalīfah*)?!"

No one else but Ali answered; he said:

انا يا رسول الله

"I [will], God's Messenger."

[The Prophet] stated:

فانت اخي ووصيي ووارثي وخليفتي فيكم

"Then you are my brother, executor, heir, and successor (*khalīfah*) among you after I die."

Here, we see that the Master of the Faithful's appointment as aide, successor, and executor was right at the beginning of the prophetic mission; he appointed him on the very day his prophethood was announced to the Quraysh, pursuant to

وانذر عشيرتك الاقربين

as the hadith of the

عشیره

says.

It is clearly understood that the positions of prophethood and imamate are always connected to each other and are inseparable. There is no use for prophethood without an aide and successor, and prophethood without guardianship has no foundation. Guardianship is a safeguard for prophethood; the imamate preserves prophethood, and the new revelation sent to God's Messenger reaches perfection through the Master of the Faithful's preserving, watchful, and eternalizing presence, as per:

اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم واتممت عليكم نعمتي ورضيت لكم الاسلام دينا.

This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion (5:3).

We have already discussed the Clan Hadith in detail in lesson five, vol. 1 of *Knowing the Imams.*

God's Messenger time and again called the Master of the Faithful:

امير المؤمنين وسيد المسلمين والامام والحجة والوصي وسيد العرب وسيد في الدنيا والآخرة وسيد الاوصياء وسيد الخلائق وسيد الوصيين وامير البررة وامام البررة وخير البشر وخير الامة وخير الوصيين وخير الخلق بعد رسول الله

The Master of the Faithful, the Master of the Muslims, the Imam, the Proof, the Executor, the Master of the Arabs, a master in this world and the Hereafter, the master of the successors, the master of the creatures, the master of all the executors, the master of the righteous, the imam of the righteous, the best of creatures, the best of the nation, the best successor, the best creature after God's Messenger.

When the Prophet went off to fight the Battle of Tabūk, he assigned Ali as deputy (*khalīfah*) in Medina and told him:

انت مني بمنزلة هارون من موسى الا انه لا نبي بعدي.

"You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me. This means sharing every attribute Aaron had apart from being a prophet after I die. That is, you are my brother, executor, and successor after I die! You are the assistant, helper, and protector of my prophethood."

The Prophet told the people:

انی تارک فیکم الثقلین: کتاب الله وعترتی، وانهما لن یفترقا حتی یردا علی الحوض.

"[O people], I am leaving two weighty things among you: God's Book and my close family (*'itrah*); these two will never be separated from each other until they come to me at the Kawthar [river in Paradise]."

God's Messenger said:

مثل اهل بیتی مثل سفینة نوح، من رکبها نجی، ومن تخلف عنها غرق.

"My Household is like Noah's Ark; whoever boards it is saved, and whoever misses it drowns!"

In the verse

فاسئلوا اهل الذکر ان کنتم لا تعلمون.

And We did not send before you any but men to whom We sent revelation — so ask the people of the Reminder if you do not know (16:43),

اهل الذکر

(*the people of the Reminder*) refers to the Household.

The rope of God in

واعتصموا بحبل الله جمیعا ولا تفرقوا.

And hold fast by the rope of God all together and be not disunited (3:103) means God's Messenger's Household.

They are the straight path and the indissoluble bond:

لا یقبل الله الاعمال من العباد الا بولایتهم علیا.

God does not accept deeds from [His] servants without their acceptance of Ali as guardian.

The meaning of

النعیم

in the verse

ثم لتسئلن یومئذ عن النعیم

Then on that day you shall most certainly be questioned about the boons (102:8), is the boon of guardianship.

And the meaning of

انهم مسؤولون

in the verse

وقفوهم انهم مسؤولون

And stop them, for they shall be questioned (37:24), means questioned concerning the guardianship.

The Prophet said:

لا يجوز احد عن الصراط الا وكتب له على الجواز

"No one will cross the path [over Hell] without Ali issuing him a pass."

The Prophet stated:

على قسيم الجنة والنار

"Ali assigns to Heaven and Hell."

The Prophet stated:

على مع القرآن والقرآن مع على

"Ali is with the Qur'an and the Qur'an is with Ali."

The Prophet said:

على منى وانا منه

"Ali is part of me and I am part of him."

The Prophet stated:

على منى كنفسى وكرأسى من بدنى

"Ali to me is like myself, and as my head is to my body."

The Prophet stated:

على مع الحق والحق مع على، اللهم ادر الحق معه حيث دار

"Ali is with the truth and the truth is with Ali. O God, steer the truth with him wherever he turns!"

The Prophet stated:

على خير البشر، من ابى فقد كفر

"Ali is the best of creatures; whoever denies [it], he is indeed an unbeliever."

The meaning of *those in authority*

أولوا الامر

in the verse

اطيعوا الله واطيعوا الرسول واولى الامر منكم

...obey God, and obey the Messenger and those of you who are in authority (4:59), is the Master of the Faithful and the infallible imams.

The Purification Verse

انما يريد الله ليذهب عنكم الرجس اهل البيت ويطهركم تطهيرا

God only desires to keep away the uncleanness from you, O people of the House, and to purify you (thorough) purifying (33:33) was revealed about God's Messenger, the Master of the Faithful, Zahrā', Hasan, Husayn, and the twelve Infallible Imams in general.

The Prophet said:

اهل بيتي امان لاهل الارض

"My Household is security for the inhabitants of the world."

The Prayer-Duel Verse says:

فَمَنْ حَآجَّكَ فِيهِ مِن بَعْدِ مَا جَاءَكَ مِنَ الْعِلْمِ فَقُلْ تَعَالَوْا نَدْعُ أَبْنَاءَنَا وَأَبْنَاءَكُمْ وَنِسَاءَنَا وَنِسَاءَكُمْ وَأَنفُسَنَا وَأَنفُسَكُمْ ثُمَّ نَبْتَهِلْ فَنَجْعَل لَّعْنَتَ اللَّهِ عَلَى الْكَاذِبِينَ

But whoever disputes with you in this matter after what has come to you of knowledge, then say: Come let us call our sons and your sons and our women and your women and ourselves and yourselves, then let us be earnest in prayer, and pray for the curse of God on the liars (3:61).

Here,

أَنفُسَنَا

means the Master of the Faithful; God describes him as the Prophet's self.

The verse

فِي بُيُوتٍ أَذِنَ اللَّهُ أَن تُرْفَعَ وَيُذْكَرَ فِيهَا اسْمُهُ

In houses which God has permitted to be exalted and that His name may be remembered in them (24:36) refers to Divine Illumination that has spread upon the existing world.

Here,

فِي بُيُوتٍ

(*in houses*) means the holy imams' pure hearts and souls.

ذوى القربى

in

قل لا اسئلكم عليه اجرا الا المودة فى القربى

Say: I do not ask of you any reward for it but love for my near relatives (42:23) means God's Messenger's close relatives from Fāṭimah's and the Master of the Faithful's line.

خَيْرُ الْبَرِيَّةِ

the best creatures, in

إِنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ أُولَئِكَ هُمْ خَيْرُ الْبَرِيَّةِ

(As for) those who believe and do good, surely they are the-best of men (98:7) means the Master of the Faithful and his followers.

When this verse was revealed, God's Messenger said:

ان عليا وشيعته هم الفائزون

"Surely Ali and his followers are those who will be successful."

النَّبَإِ الْعَظِيمِ

the great news in

عَمَّ يَتَسَآءَلُونَ عَنِ النَّبَإِ الْعَظِيمِ

What do they ask one another about? About the great news (78:1–2) means Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.

مِنَ النَّاسِ

Among the people in

وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَنْ يَشْرِي نَفْسَهُ ابْتِغَاءَ مَرْضَاةِ اللَّهِ

And among the people is he who sells himself to seek the pleasure of God (2:207) means the Master of the Faithful.

It was the Master of the Faithful who was the Prophet's confidant, and who acted on the verse about private consultation by giving charity in the Prophet's name:

يا ايها الذين آمنوا اذا ناجيتم الرسول فقدموا بين يدى نجواكم صدقة

O you who believe, when you consult the Messenger in private, offer something in charity before your consultation (58:12).

[And he had all the knowledge of the Book] in

قل كفى بالله شهيدا بينى وبينكم ومن عنده علم الكتاب.

Say, "God and he who has all the knowledge of the Book suffice as a Witness between me and you" (13:43).

And the Master of the Faithful helped, supported, backed up, assisted, and acted as a confidant to God's Messenger, as the following verse says:

وان تظاهرا عليه فان الله هو مولاه وجبريل وصالح المؤمنين والملائكة بعد ذلك ظهير.

...and if you back up each other against him, then surely God it is Who is his Guardian, and Gabriel and the believers that do good, and the angels after that are the aiders (66:4).

The Prophet drafted an immunity as a scroll and handed it to Abū Bakr to read to the people at Minā in the *ḥajj* season in 9 AH;

however, revelation brought by Gabriel said that God had commanded the Prophet to announce it to the idolaters personally or have someone of his own kind do so.

God's Messenger then sent the Master of the Faithful after Abū Bakr to retrieve the letter from him and then go to Mecca during *ḥajj* season to announce it to the idolaters.

The Master of the Faithful, who was the Prophet's own self, took the scroll from Abū Bakr and set off for Mecca to read it to the idolaters during the *ḥajj* season; the verse said:

وَأَذَانٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ إِلَى النَّاسِ يَوْمَ الْحَجِّ الْأَكْبَرِ أَنَّ اللَّهَ بَرِيءٌ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ وَرَسُولُهُ

And an announcement from God and His Messenger to the people on the day of the greater pilgrimage that God and His Messenger are free from liability to the idolaters (9:3).

So the Master of the Faithful, who was God's Messenger's self, took this responsibility.

اذن واعية

A retaining ear in

وتعيها اذن واعية

and that a retaining ear might retain it (69:12) refers to the Holy Master of the Faithful.

In

وسلام على الياسين

...and peace be upon Āl Yāsin (37:113),

آل ياسين

means the infallible imams.[4]

And similarly, the verse

افمن شرح الله صدره للاسلام فهو على نور من ربه

What! is he whose heart God has opened for Islam so that he is in a light from his Lord [like the hard hearted]? (39:22) refers to the Master of the Faithful.

In the verse

وَأَنَّ هَذَا صِرَاطِي مُسْتَقِيمًا فَاتَّبِعُوهُ وَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا السُّبُلَ فَتَفَرَّقَ بِكُمْ عَنْ سَبِيلِهِ

And (know) that this is My path, the right one, therefore follow it, and follow not (other) ways, for they will lead you away from His way (6:153),

صِرَاطِي

My path means Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.

In the verse

افمن یمشی مکبا علی وجهه اهدی امن یمشی سویا علی صراط مستقیم

...What! Is he who goes prone upon his face better guided or he who walks upright upon a Straight Path (67:22),

من یمشی سویا علی صراط مستقیم

he who walks upright upon a Straight Path refers to the Master of the Faithful.

God's Messenger stated at Khaybar:

لاعطین الرایة غدا رجلا یحب الله ورسوله ویحبه الله ورسوله کرار غیر فرار، لم یرجع حتی یفتح الله بیدیه

"Tomorrow, I will surely give the banner to a man who loves God and His Messenger; and whom God and His Messenger love, always on the attack, never fleeing. He has never returned without God's granting victory by his hands."

The next day he called Ali, spat in his sore eyes, and gave him the banner. Then, the ever-attacking lion (*Ḥaydar al-Karrār*) tore off the gate of Khaybar, conquering, victorious.

This happened two days after the flag had been given to Abū Bakr and Omar, and they had both, without completing their mission and conquering Khaybar, fled the battlefield and gone home.

It is why God's Messenger made Ali his brother twice, once in Mecca when he made the migrants each other's brothers, and then again after entering Medina when he made the migrants and helpers brothers to each other. Both times, he made Ali his brother.

The Prophet said:

علی اقضاکم

"Ali is the best judge out of all of you."

The Prophet opened a thousand doors of knowledge for Ali.

God's Messenger said:

انا مدینة العلم وعلی بابها

"I am the city of knowledge and Ali is its gate."

God's Messenger said:

انا دار الحکمة وعلی بابها

"I am the home of wisdom and Ali is its gate."

God's Messenger said: "I am the city of heaven and Ali is its gate."

God's Messenger stated: "Ali and I are the two fathers of this nation."

He said:

حق علی علی هذه الامة کحق الوالد علی ولده

"Ali's right over this nation is like a father's right over his child."

And he also stated:

علی وزیری ووارثی

"Ali is my aide and heir."

Then he stated:

یا علی لا یحبك الا مؤمن ولا یبغضك الا منافق

"O Ali, no one but a believer loves you, and no one but a hypocrite hates you!"

He also said:

عنوان صحیفة المؤمن: حب علی بن أبی طالب[5]

"The heading on a believer's scroll says: 'Love of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.'"

He said:

النظر الی وجه علی عبادة

"Looking at Ali's face is worship."

He also said:

علی فی هذه الامة مثل قل هو الله احد

Ali in this nation is like *Say: He, God, is One!* Whoever recites it once, it is as if he has recited one-third of the Qur'an; if he recites it twice, it is as if he has recited two-thirds of it; and if he recites it three times, it is as if he has finished the whole Qur'an. Whoever loves Ali with all his heart has acquired one-third of the faith. Whoever loves him with all his heart and his tongue has acquired two-thirds of the faith. Whoever loves him with all his heart, his tongue, and all his limbs has perfected his entire faith.

The Prophet stated:

علیّ منّی کنفسی، طاعته طاعتی ومعصیته معصیتی

"Ali to me is like my soul. Obedience to him is obedience to me, and disobedience to him is disobedience to me."

He also said:

یا علی انت تبرئ ذمتی، وانت خلیفتی علی امتی

"O Ali, it is you who will fulfill my obligation! And you are my successor over my nation!"

God's Messenger said:

يا علی انت تقضی دینی

"O Ali, it is you who will repay my debt."

The Prophet said:

ان وصیی ووارثی ومنجز وعدی علی بن أبی طالب

"Surely my executor, my heir, and the keeper of my promise is Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib."

He also said:

یا علی انت تؤدی عنی، وتسمعهم صوتی، وتبین لهم ما اختلفوا فیه بعدی.[6]

"O Ali, you will fulfill [my promises and responsibilities] on my behalf; let them hear my voice, and explain to them what they disagree over after I die."

Furthermore, because he donated a ring to a beggar while bowing in prayer in the Prophet's mosque, the Guardianship Verse was revealed, and the verse placed him rank and file with the Prophet as guardian:

إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلاةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَاةَ وَهُمْ رَاكِعُونَ.

Your Guardian can only be God, His Messenger, and, those who believe, who establish prayer and give charity while bowing (5:55).

This verse is in Chapter 5

المائدہ

and as we know, this was the last chapter to be revealed to God's Messenger. The verse was revealed to the Prophet after the Farewell Pilgrimage in Medina during the seventy days between the day of Ghadīr Khumm and the day the Prophet passed away.

Also, during his illness the Prophet commanded them to block all the doors of the houses leading into the Prophet's mosque, except the Master of the Faithful's.

They did so, and even blocked ᶜAbbās's, the Messenger's uncle's, Omar's, and Abū Bakr's. ᶜAbbās went to the Prophet asking for his permission for his door to be left open, but the Prophet told him: "The matter is not in my hand[s]. No, God has not permitted it!"

Omar said: "O God's Messenger, let me have a skylight (*kuwwah*) on the top of my house so that I can see you come to the mosque!"

Thereupon, he replied: "My Lord has revealed to me to block all the doors except Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's door." So the Prophet commanded them to close all the doors, including the skylight (*khawfah*)[7] on Abū Bakr's house.

In any event, this all happened to the Master of the Faithful during God's Messenger's lifetime. These and countless other incidents

prove how close he was to the Prophet, his spirituality, and the link between God's Messenger's authority and his. Even someone previously unfamiliar with Islam—like a Jew or a Christian—would, after seeing so many incidents and hadiths about him, doubtless say: "He is the successor to and guardian and imam after the Messenger."

We intend to explain all these incidents in detail. Some we have already addressed in previous volumes, and the rest are still to come. The chains of transmission in both Shi'a and Sunni books are authentic, as will become apparent. Whoever wishes to read beyond *Knowing the Imams* should refer to such noble books as *Ghāyat al-Marām* by Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī, *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl* by Ḥākim Ḥaskānī, *Farā'id al-Simṭayn* by Ḥamwīnī, and three volumes of the biography of the Master of the Faithful from *Tārikh Dimashq* (*The History of Damascus*) by Ibn al-'Asākir.

Nevertheless, it can be inferred from this introduction that the ground for the caliphate of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib was quite clear and understood, right from the beginning of the prophetic mission, and throughout the twenty-three years of his prophethood—it was obvious to every group and faction. However, now that Gabriel had brought the news of his imminent departure, the public and explicit announcement was made at Ghadīr Khumm to all Muslims from every tribe, of the Master of the Faithful's appointment as guardian and Imam.

So, on the Farewell Pilgrimage, the Prophet was doing the groundwork, speaking in every sermon about the Book of God and his own descendants, right up until the Day of Ghadīr came and Gabriel brought this verse down:

بلغ ما انزل اليك من ربك

...deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord (5:67).

A Hadith Recounting What Imam Riḍā Said at Ma'mūn's Court

We conclude this introduction by quoting a hadith from *Ghāyat al-Marām*. It says what Imam Ali Ibn Mūsā Riḍā said at a gathering in Ma'mūn's court.

Sayyid Baḥrānī relates from Ibn Bābawayh, from Ali Ibn Husayn Ibn Shādhawayh Mu'addib and Ja'far Ibn Muhammad Ibn Masrūr, who both related from Muhammad Ibn 'Abdillāh Ibn Ja'far Ḥimyarī, from his father, from Rayyān Ibn Ṣalt:

> [Imam] Riḍā attended Ma'mūn's court in Merv, a number of scholars from Iraq and Khurāsān having gathered.

Ma'mūn said:

> Tell me what this verse means:
>
> ثم اورثنا الكتاب الذين اصطفينا من عبادنا.
>
> *Then We left this Book as an inheritance to those of Our servants whom We had chosen* (35:32).

And the scholars replied: "God means by that the entire nation."

Ma'mūn asked: "O Abū al-Hasan, what do you say?"

So [Imam] Riḍā replied: "I do not say what they say. Instead I say: God means by that [His Messenger's] infallible close family (*ʿitrah*).

Ma'mūn said: "How does God mean [His Messenger's] close family as opposed to the entire nation?!"

[Imam] Riḍā replied:

> If He had meant the entire nation, they would all be in Heaven because of the Exalted's words:
>
> فَمِنْهُمْ ظَالِمٌ لِنَفْسِهِ وَمِنْهُمْ مُقْتَصِدٌ وَمِنْهُمْ سَابِقٌ بِالْخَيْرَاتِ بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ ذَلِكَ هُوَ الْفَضْلُ الْكَبِيرُ.
>
> *Yet there are some of them who wrong themselves while others follow a middle course, and there are some who are foremost in good deeds with God's permission; and that is the same great Divine favour* (35:32).
>
> He gathers all in Paradise and states:
>
> جَنَّاتُ عَدْنٍ يَدْخُلُونَهَا يُحَلَّوْنَ فِيهَا مِنْ أَسَاوِرَ مِنْ ذَهَبٍ وَلُؤْلُؤًا وَلِبَاسُهُمْ فِيهَا حَرِيرٌ.
>
> *...Gardens of Eden they will enter, where they will wear gold and pearl bracelets and their raiment will be silk* (35:33).
>
> (Thus, because not everyone is going to Heaven, then, without a doubt *Those...whom We have chosen* has to mean [the Prophet's] infallible (*ṭāhirah*) close family (*ʿitrah*).
>
> فصار الوراثة للعترة الطاهرة لا لغيرهم.
>
> Thus the inheritance became the [Messenger's] infallible close family's, no one else's.

Ma'mūn asked: "Who is the infallible family?"

The [Imam] replied:

الذين وصفهم الله تعالى في كتابه، فقال: انما يريد الله ليذهب عنكم الرجس اهل البيت ويطهركم تطهيرا، وهم الذين قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم: «اني مخلف فيكم الثقلين: كتاب الله وعترتي اهل بيتي، الا وانهما لن يفترقا حتى يردا علي الحوض، فانظروا كيف تخلفوني فيهما ايها الناس لا تعلموهم فانهم اعلم منكم»

> Those whom God the Exalted has described in His Book, by saying: *God only desires to keep away the uncleanness from you, O people of the House, and to purify you a (thorough) purifying* (33:33).
>
> They are those about whom God's Messenger said: "Surely, I am leaving two weighty things among you: God's Book and my family, my Household! Lo, they will not separate until they come to me at the Pool, so watch how you treat them after I am gone. People! Do not teach them, because they know more than you!"

The scholars asked the Imam: "Abū al-Hasan, tell us about the family. Are they [God's Messenger's] family (*al-Āl*) or someone else (*ghayr al-Āl*)?"

Imam Riḍā replied: "They are [God's Messenger's] family (*al-Āl*)."

Here Imam Riḍā's argument begins, in which he addresses extremely valuable and pertinent points that occupy about three pages of small print in *Ghāyat al-Marām*. We shall avoid citing them in full to maintain brevity.[8]

Two: During God's Messenger's Lifetime, People Had Different Levels of Belief in Him

God's Messenger's companions and everyone who became a Muslim during the Noblest Prophet's lifetime were not all equal in all respects. On the contrary, there was considerable disparity in their levels of awareness of the prophecy, understanding of the meaning of the revelation, appreciation of the levels reached by God's Messenger, and certainty of God's Messenger's integrity and his sincerity in everything he did, and in his conduct, personally, socially, in worship, and when not worshiping; and there was [disparity] in their views of that great human with regard to his spiritual purity and his connection to the heavenly host and to Gabriel, and, consequently and ultimately, in their views of him with regard to his transcendence

of the self and communing with God, Exalted is His Name, in every matter.

Some of them, such as Salmān, Miqdād, Abū Dharr, Othman Ibn Maẓ῾ūn, and Khabbāb Ibn al-Arathth, many of whom were veterans of Badr, Uḥud, al-Aḥzāb, and other battles, had firm belief in him, leaving them with no will or choice but his will and choice. They were completely self-annihilated in him because they believed him to have a connection with the unseen, transcending his own self-identity, devoted to God. It made no difference to them whether God's Messenger was reciting Qur᾽anic verses to them or giving his own personal commands or prohibitions. It also made no difference to them whether it was an act of worship, or a political, personal, or social act, or whether it pertained to fasting or pilgrimage. It also made no difference to them that he practiced polygamy, married his foster-son's ex-wife, or anything else like that. Migrating or staying also made no difference to them, nor did war or peace. Everything that was, whatever form it took, was God's action, from God, and absolute integrity and pure truth, unadulterated by any of the mentally-posited metaphorical world's corruption.

The Occasions on Which Omar Openly Challenged God's Messenger

Some of them drew a distinction between Qur᾽anic verses and revelation sent down, on the one hand, and his opinions and ideas. They would say: We believe that the verses revealed in the Noble Qur᾽an have to be followed. As for the Prophet's opinions, they are different. Accordingly, we do not force ourselves to follow his opinions or personal ideas or make our will subservient to his or annihilated in his. God's Messenger has his opinion. But we also have our own. We sometimes give preponderance to his and sometimes to our own.

In brief, their belief was like many Sunnis', because they say that God's Messenger exercised his own personal judgement (*kān...mujtahidan*) in his personal affairs and opinions, and in equipping armies, sending soldiers into battle or on raids, and coordinating and organizing administrative and civil affairs. He is sometimes prone to error. The others also exercise their personal judgement. They are sometimes right and sometimes wrong. That is why we see that they would often ask: "Is this God's word or yours? Did you say this or did God order it?" What is mostly notable in acclaimed history books is that it was mostly Omar and Abū Bakr who would behave this way; a number of examples follow.

Omar's Doubt about the Messenger's Prophethood after the Treaty of Ḥudaybiyyah

One: In the year 6 AH, during the month of Dhū al-Qaʿdah, when God's Messenger, together with his companions, left Medina for the Kaʿbah, and he had camels with him to sacrifice there, and they were on their way, Quraysh pagans blocked their path. Therefore, a peace contract was signed between the two parties. Then the Prophet commanded his companions to shave their heads there, at Ḥudaybiyyah, and sacrifice their animals, thus leaving the state of pilgrim sanctity.

It was too much for some companions to bear, and they resisted shaving their heads and sacrificing their animals. The Prophet became so upset that he complained about the matter to Umm Salamah. Umm Salamah said: "God's Messenger, shave your own head and sacrifice [your own animals]." The Prophet did so; he shaved his head and then slaughtered his animals. The objectors, doubting his prophethood, shaved their heads and sacrificed [their animals anyway].

When the matter had been agreed upon and there remained nothing but to write it up, Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb jumped up, went to see Abū Bakr, talked to him about this matter, and complained to him about not entering Mecca to perform the minor pilgrimage, sacrificing and shaving his head in the desert, and the conditions of the peace treaty, which were onerous and difficult for the Muslims. He asked him [sarcastically]: "Did not God's Messenger do such-and-such?"

After the exchange of words between him and Abū Bakr, he went to God's Messenger and asked: "God's Messenger, are you not God's Messenger?"

He replied: "I am."

Omar asked: "Are we not in the right and our enemy in the wrong?"

He replied: "Yes."

[Omar] asked: "Then why do we humiliate ourselves in our religion?"

[God's Messenger] replied: "I am God's servant and Messenger, and I will never disobey His command. He will never neglect me, being my helper."

[Omar said:] "I asked: 'Did you not tell us that we would truly go to the House and circumambulate [it]?'"

He replied: "Yes, but did I tell you you would go there this year?"

I replied: "No!"

[The Prophet] said: "So you surely will go there and circumambulate it."

Omar says: "I never doubted since becoming a Muslim until that day [at Ḥudaybiyyah]."[9]

Two: In 10 AH, on the Farewell Pilgrimage, when the Prophet, by God's command, brought by Gabriel, ascended Mount Marwah and told the pilgrims that those who had not taken the sacrificial animals with them must change their intention from *ḥajj* to minor pilgrimage (*ʿumrah*), and exit the state of pilgrim sanctity, Omar was one of those who objected strongly to this command. He asked:[10] "Should one of us go to ʿArafah, his genitals still dripping with semen?"

God's Messenger then said: "He will not believe in it until he dies."

When Omar's and his companions' words reached God's Messenger, he was visibly angry, so much so that he delivered a sermon to the people and said:

اما بعد فتعلمون ايها الناس! لانا والله اعلمكم واتقاكم له! ولو استقبلت من امري ما استدبرت ما سقت هديا ولا حللت.[11]

"Now then, people, do you want to teach? Because by God we know more than and are more God-fearing than you. If as much of my mission remained as has passed, I would still not bring a sacrificial animal and still leave pilgrim sanctity."

When they asked him why he was angry, he replied: "How can I not be angry, when I give an order and it is not followed? Have you not noticed that I gave people an order but they hesitate?"[12]

Omar did not approve of this commandment of God's and His Messenger's until the time of his government, when he openly repealed it and said: "No one should perform a *tamattuʿ*[13] *ḥajj*, and I will punish whoever does so." Omar said: "I concede that the *tamattuʿ* was God's Messenger's practice (*sunnah*). However, my opinion is that it should not be followed."

Abū Mūsā Ashʿari says:

إنّ عمر قال: هي سنة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم - يعني المتعة - ولكني اخشى ان يعرسوا بهن تحت الاراك ثم يروحوا بهن حجاجا.[14]

"Omar said: 'It (i.e. *mutʿah*) is God's Messenger's practice (*sunnah*), but I fear that [the pilgrims] will marry them under the salvadora persica, and then go off with them as pilgrims.'"

Praise be to God, by His Might and direct attention, we discussed this matter fully at the beginning of volume 6 of *Knowing the Imams.*

Omar Stops the Prophet from Having a Shoulder-Bone and Inkwell Brought to Him on His Death-Bed

Three: There are many hadiths in *al-Ṭabaqāt* by Ibn Saʿd that say that when the Prophet lay on his deathbed, he asked for a shoulder-bone and an inkwell to write something so that his nation would not stray after his demise. Omar said:

ان الرجل ليهجر

Surely the man is delusional.

كتاب الله حسبنا

God's Book suffices us.

[Omar] kept trying to stop him until dispute erupted among those in the presence of the Messenger: Some said to let the pen and paper be brought, and some on Omar's side said that it was not necessary. The Prophet became angry and raised his voice, saying: "Get out (*qūmū*). There should not be dispute in a prophet's presence." Then, his soul departed extremely sorrowfully!

Ibn ʿAbbās always used to say:

الرزية كل الرزية ما حال بين رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم وبين ان يكتب لهم ذلك الكتاب من اختلافهم ولغطهم.[15]

"The disaster in its entirety was their disagreement and clamor, which stopped God's Messenger from writing them that note."

Muhammad Ḥasanayn Haykal says:

وفيما هو في هذه الشدة وفي البيت رجال قال: هلموا أكتب لكم كتابا لا تضلوا بعده ابدا.
قال بعض الحاضرين: ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه (وآله) قد غلبه الوجع، وعندكم القرآن، وحسبنا كتاب الله، ويذكرون ان عمر هو الذي قال هذه المقالة واختلف الحضور، منهم من يقول: قربوا يكتب لكم كتابا لا تضلوا بعده، منهم من يابى ذلك مكتفيا بكتاب الله، فلما رأى محمد خصومتهم قالوا: قوموا![16]

And while he was undergoing that hardship, and there were some men in the room, [the Prophet] said: "Come on, I'll write you a note after which you will never go astray!"

One of those present said: "The pain has overcome God's Messenger; you have the Qur'an with you. God's Book suffices us." They say that it was Omar who said this. Those present disagreed with each other. Some of them were saying: "Bring [the writing instruments] closer so that he can write you a note so that you will not stray after he is gone." Others resisted it, contenting themselves with God's Book. Then, when Muhammad saw their dispute, he told them: "Get out (*qūmū*)."

Haykal says immediately after this:

ومافتىء ابن عباس بعدها يرى انهم اضاعوا شيئا كثيرا بان لم يسارعوا الى كتابة ما اراد النبى املاءه. اما عمر فظل ورأيه، ان قال الله فى كتابه الكريم: ما فرطنا فى الكتاب من شىء.[17]

Thereafter, Ibn ᶜAbbās never stopped believing that they had lost much by not hastening to write down what the Prophet had wanted to dictate.

But Omar kept thinking that God had said: *We have not neglected anything in the Book* (6:38).[18]

Four: Six hadiths on the authority of Ibn ᶜAsākir say that the Prophet and the Master of the Faithful had a long private discussion at the Battle of Ṭā'if. When displeasure showed on the faces of some of the companions (Abū Bakr and Omar) because of the length of the discussion, and the Prophet was later asked about his discussion with the Master of the Faithful, he replied: "It was not I who was confiding in him. It was God Who was confiding in him."

One hadith says:

فرأى الكراهية فى وجوه رجال فقالوا: قد اطال مناجاته منذ اليوم فقال: ما انا انتجيته ولكن الله انتجاه

"The Messenger saw the displeasure in the faces of some men who were saying: 'His private conversation has lasted all day.' So [the Prophet] said: 'It was not I who was confiding in him. It was God Who was confiding in him.'"

Another hadith says:

فلحق ابو بكر (ظ) وعمر فقالا: طالت مناجاتك عليا يا رسول الله، قال: ما انا اناجيه (كذا) ولكن الله انتجاه.[19]

"Then Abū Bakr and Omar caught up and said: 'O Messenger of God, you had a long private conversation with Ali!' The Prophet stated: 'I was not talking to him in private. It was God Who was confiding in him'."

Five: Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd says:

Ibn ᶜAbbās said:

> I accompanied Omar on one of his journeys to the Levant. One day, when he was riding his camel alone, and there were only two of us, he told me: "O Ibn ᶜAbbās, I have a complaint about your cousin (Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib) to make to you. I wanted him to come with me but he would not. I always see him angry; do you know why he is angry?"
>
> I replied: "Ali, surely you know?"
>
> He said: "I think he is still depressed about losing the caliphate."
>
> I answered: "It is that. He claims that God's Messenger wanted the office to go to him."
>
> He said: "O Ibn ᶜAbbās! If God's Messenger wants the office to go to him, what if God the Exalted does not want it? God's Messenger wanted one thing, but God wanted another; God's will was done, and His Messenger's will was not done. Must everything God's Messenger wants be done?"

Another wording of this hadith is related: "When he was ill, God's Messenger wanted to name him as master, but I stopped him out of fear of sedition and of Islam being scattered. God's Messenger realized my intention (*mā fī nafsī*) and God prevents everything but His decree (*ḥatam*) from coming to pass!"[20]

ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ ᶜAbd al-Maqṣūd says:

Omar said to Ibn ᶜAbbās: "The Quraysh hated your getting both the prophecy and the caliphate. They then looked to themselves, were granted success, and were correct."

So Ibn ᶜAbbās replied:

What you say—that the Quraysh hated—God said about a nation who deserve to perish because they hate God's rule:

ذَٰلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ كَرِهُوا مَا أَنزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأَحْبَطَ أَعْمَالَهُمْ.

That is because they hated what God revealed, so He rendered their deeds null (47:9).

You said: "the Quraysh chose," but God says:

وَرَبُّكَ يَخْلُقُ مَا يَشَاءُ وَيَخْتَارُ مَا كَانَ لَهُمُ الْخِيَرَةُ

And your Lord creates and chooses whom He pleases; to choose is not theirs (28:68).

Omar did not answer him. He just became angry.[21]

Here, we see that Omar has confused God's creationary decree with His legislative decree and missed the point—Ibn ʿAbbās's unanswerable response stopped him from saying anything further.

Omar's response is similar to ʿUbaydullāh's remark to Lady Zaynab in his court in Kufa:

الحمد لله الذى قتلكم وأكذب احدوثتكم

"Praise belongs to God Who has wiped you out and shown your innovation to be a lie!"

Thereupon Zaynab replied:

> God prescribed their being killed, so they advanced to their resting places, which does not contradict your and Yazīd's killing people mercilessly! God's will does not stop what you have done from being evil; it does not mean you had no choice. Yazīd also attributes his murder of God's Messenger's family to God, believing his rule to be by divine right.

How often we see in the history of the ʿAbbāsids, the ʿAbbāsid "caliphs" committed atrocities and then attributed them to God; they also believed that they ruled by divine right and that it was God's will that the imams had not become caliphs.

During the five centuries of ʿAbbāsid "caliphate," a great many sycophantic poets composed odes about the ʿAbbāsids' divine, just government. Conversely, they composed and recited odes at ʿAbbāsid princes' gatherings and parties, vilifying the infallible Household, claiming that they did not deserve to rule because it was not God's will. In this way, they disgraced history!

Abū Shamṭ Marwān Ibn Abī al-Janūb says:

I recited poetry to Mutawakkil in which I referred to the Rāfiḍah (the Shiᶜa Imams), and he gave me the governorates of Bahrain and Yamāmah, and hoisted the flags of those two regions in my name. He gave me four robes of honor, and his son gave me even more. Mutawakkil ordered his men to give me 3,000 gold dinars; they did so, pouring the gold coins on top of me at a congratulatory ceremony. Then, he commanded his two sons to gather up the gold coins strewn on the floor and give them to me. They both took the coins and handed them over to me.

The poem says:

ملك الخليفة جعفر للدين والدنيا سلامه 1

لكم تراث محمد وبعدلكم تنفى الظلامه 2

يرجو التراث بنو البنا ت ومالهم فيها قلامه 3

والصهر ليس بوارث والبنت لا ترث الامامه 4

ما للذين تخلوا ميراثكم الا الندامه 5

اخذ الوراثة اهلها فعلام لومكم علامه 6

لوكان حقكم لنا قامت على الناس القيامة 7

ليس التراث لغيركم لا والاله ولا كرامه 8

اصبحت بين محبكم والمبغضين لكم علامه[22] 9

1. The kingdom of Caliph Jaᶜfar [Mutawakkil ᶜAbbāsī] is soundness for religion and the world.

2. Muhammad's inheritance is yours, and through your justice injustice is eliminated.

3. The sons of the daughters [the Imams of Shiᶜa who are the offspring of Fāṭimah] want the inheritance, but they do not even deserve clippings from it.

4. A son-in-law is not an heir, and a daughter does not inherit the imamate.

5. Those who claim your inheritance will have nothing but regret!

6. Those entitled to it have taken the inheritance, so why your reproach?!

7. If it were your [birth]right, the reckoning would not have been carried out against the people.

8. This heritage is no one else's but yours, by God, and not an honor.

9. You have become a marker between those who love and hate you!

Abū Shamṭ says: "I received 10,000 dirhams for another poem that I composed similar to this one."[23]

With this nonsense logic, Omar paved the way for sophistry by later "caliphs"; because if achieving the position and becoming governor were evidence of true entitlement in accordance with God's legislative will, there would be no such thing as aggression, treachery, and oppression. Anyone who comes to power by any means does so by God's will, and his actual achievement is evidence of his entitlement to it.

However, Omar knew full well that he was applying nonsense logic and sophistry. If events and accidents that happen through aggression and tyranny contrary to God's and His Messenger's command are proof that what actually happens has a greater entitlement to happen, why did Omar himself object to the Prophet with regard to the Treaty of Ḥudaybiyyah and doubt his prophethood? He could just have said that the Prophet wanted something, but God wanted something else. In such circumstances, one should surrender to God's will. God's Messenger wanted to perform a minor pilgrimage and circumambulate God's House, but God wanted the unbelievers stopped, and the [believers' heads] shaved and animals sacrificed in the middle of the desert, and for them to return to Medina without performing a minor pilgrimage.

Omar's logic is none of our concern, but he knew what he was doing. What we do know, though, is that this logic is un-Islamic, contradicts the logic of the Qur'an, is at odds with God's Messenger's practice and manner, and is contrary to the beliefs of all divine religions.

According to Omar's logic, dragging Ali bareheaded to the mosque to pledge allegiance, and breaking righteous Fāṭimah Zahrā''s rib and causing the stillbirth of her innocent child Muḥsin was all God's will; if God had not wanted it, it would not have happened. Seizing Fadak, even though it had been made a gift to Zahrā', was God's will; if God had not wanted it, it would not have happened. To sum up, there is no such thing as usurping the leadership, in his opinion. Anyone who achieves a position, in any way and in any capacity, is entitled to do so because it is God's will.

The crimes of that event under the Banū Sā'idah's *saqīfah*, herding people to pledge allegiance, while the Prophet's body lay unbur-

ied on the ground, and throughout the twenty-five years of government by the three "caliphs" after the *saqīfah*, then Muʿāwiyah, the murder of the Master of the Faithful in the prayer niche in the mosque, the persecution suffered by Imam Hasan, the heart-rending event of Karbala, and Zaynab, heart-breakingly paraded as a prisoner of war before the people of Kufa and Damascus and other areas, and so on and so forth, were all God's will; if God had not wanted them, they would not have happened. Because of this, the perpetrators are always right, and by implication the innocent victims who faced the enemies' swords, wandering in the deserts on unsaddled camels under the burning sun, were in the wrong!

Here, it becomes quite clear that it was through the very logic of Omar that the prophecy and message of Islam were changed into monarchy, Khusrawism and Caesarism; this is the reason why the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids were around the Muslims' necks for six centuries, and God's Messenger's prophecy and guardianship—the right of the Household and the imams—was sidelined. In short, he ruined Islam and brought it to a standstill, presenting the tyrannical government of Khusraw and Caesar as true Islam!

Omar's Opinion on Leadership Is the Same as Machiavelli's

What is the difference between Omar's views and those of modern fascists? They also say: "Whoever is in power is in control and is the master. Truth and primacy are his, and this is only achieved by holding the reins of power!"

Omar's view on leadership (*imāmah*) is similar to Machiavelli's, or rather, Machiavelli's opinion is the same as Omar's. Machiavelli also says: "The way to become noble, prime, and true is to seize the reins of power. Whoever has power in his hands is strong and victorious! However, whoever has no power lags behind the caravan of existence and trails behind the parade of winners who have reached the goal."

They just use different words; Omar says that actual power and seizure of position are by God's will—that is, he interprets it as God's will that affects everything; but Machiavelli says that it depends on dignity, nobility of descent, and realism that brings power to a man.

Now, compare this logic to that of the Master of the Monotheists, the Master of the Faithful, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib:

والله لو اعطيت الاقاليم السبعة بما تحت افلاكها على ان اعصى الله في نملة اسلبها جلب شعيرة ما فعلت، وان دنياكم عندي لأهون من ورقة في فم جرادة تقضمها، ما لعلي ولنعيم يفنى ولذة لا تبقى؟![24]

By God, even if I were given all seven geographical zones with all that is under their stars in exchange for my disobeying God to the extent of snatching a single grain of barley from an ant, I would not do so. For me your world is of less value than a leaf in the mouth of a locust that is chewing it. What has Ali to do with bounties that will pass away and pleasure that will not last?!'

Omar's logic is similar to that of Abū Sufyān, who believed that government represented pomp, majesty, and greatness from the perspective of this life. He denied the link to prophecy and the connection between the unseen world and the true divine government. In other words, he said: "Whatever Muhammad says about this world and its government only belongs to this world; it is only government and sovereignty. There is no communication from the unseen world. There is no such thing as a link between this world and the Hereafter, and it makes no sense to make this world subject to the rules of that world."

Abū Sufyān could not imagine the meaning of bravery, self-sacrifice, struggle (*jihād*), and putting others before oneself for the sake of God and the truth and no financial gain. He could not imagine that the soldiers of Islam had no material incentive. They did not want to receive a government position—their struggle was for God, and their hope was in God.

A great many hypocrites, both those who embraced Islam when Mecca was conquered and those dazzled by the greatness of Islam who saw no alternative but to accept it, fell into these categories.

There were a great many hypocrites who were God's Messenger's companions; they had apparently embraced Islam and believed in the Oneness of God and in Muhammad as a Messenger. However, they did not yet believe inwardly. They still believed Islam to be a worldly and national government.

What Abū Sufyān Said to Othman about the Caliphate

When Othman took the caliphate, Abū Sufyān went to him and said:

يابنى امية تلقفوها تلقف الكرة، والذى يحلف به ابو سفيان: مازلت ارجوها لكم، ولتصيرن الى صيانكم وراثة.

وقال لعثمان: ادرها كالكرة، واجعل اوتادها بنى امية، فانما هو الملك، ولا ـ ادرى ما من جنة ولا نار، وانى قبر حمزة سيد الشهداء عليه السلام فركله برجله، ثم قال: ياحمزة، ان الامر الذى كنت تقاتلنا عليه بالامس قد ملكناه اليوم وكنا احق به من تيم وعدى.[25]

"O Umayyads! Now that this governorship has reached you, seize it like a ball in play! I swear by that by which Abū Sufyān swears, I still want it for you, to become an inheritance for your children."

And he said to Othman: "Steer it round like a ball, and make the Umayyads its base because it is power (*mulk*) indeed. And lo; I know that there is neither Heaven nor Hell!"

Then he went to the grave of Ḥamzah, the Master of the Martyrs, kicked it, and said: "O Ḥamzah, we have today taken hold of that mandate (*amr*) that you were fighting us over yesterday, and we deserved it more than Taym and ʿAdī [Abū Bakr and Omar]!"

We realize from the above how much difference there was between Muslims at the time of God's Messenger; they had different levels of belief. And during the course of his prophetic mission, the Prophet confronted them and tried to address them, along with all their conflicting ideologies; even though it was difficult to tolerate them, he did so with pleasure.

Three: The Prophets' Infallibility Does Not Mean They Did Not Have Free Will

All the prophets and messengers sent by God and all the infallible imams and all God's pure infallible favored saints have a duty, just like everybody else, to follow God's commandments. They have to carry out their duties with the intention of struggling in the way of God, putting God's pleasure first, forbearing and suffering persecution for the sake of pleasing the Honorable and Exalted God, and do so with good grace, strong determination, and fortitude. They have to put their power and intellect into action and move forward with determination.

The Lord's choice, approval, selection, and election in the unseen world, the pre-existential world of particles and the light, incorporeal and incomposite realms at the beginning of creation, does not mean they have no freedom of choice. On the contrary, it reinforces this freedom, because God wanted to send those pure and chosen people

to communicate His Message and guide His servants. They follow this path and travel in this direction of their own choice and acceptance because of their love for their object of worship. How can we imagine that they discharge their duty if they have no freedom of choice, and are compelled by involuntary infallibility and predestination by God's will? That would just be absurd. Absurdity would mean a change in God's will, which is impossible.

God wanted them to do good and pure deeds of their own choice and avoid committing sins also of their own choice. So, if God's will stripped them of freedom of choice, that would mean God's not getting what He wants, which is impossible.

So, the messengers and prophets have freedom of choice, just like everyone else; they choose to do certain things and refrain from doing others. That is why they keep actualizing their potential. Then, via this actualization (which is potential for the highest level) and still by their own choice and through accepting God's will, they reach higher actualization and a higher level. They keep on going, gradually actualizing the potential within them, first attaining relative perfection and then attaining absolute perfection and becoming the perfect man. This position and state is through their own choice and by their own free will.

Abraham was awarded the position of imamate after enduring tens of trials and sufferings: He smashed the idols in the Temple of Babylon and was cast into the fire, opposed Nimrod and disputed with him and his people, and was exiled from the Land of Babylon to Palestine and fulfilled his prophetic missions in that land. Above all, after years of hardship and enduring the barrenness of his wife, Sarah, eventually having a child, building the House of the Ka'bah along with his courageous son, Ishmael, sending Ishmael away along with his mother, Hagar, to the endless barren land, being commanded by God to sacrifice his righteous son, setting Ishmael on the Beloved's altar, after twenty years of hardship and forbearance, he was appointed imam in his old age. As God says:

وَإِذِ ابْتَلَىٰ إِبْرَاهِيمَ رَبُّهُ بِكَلِمَاتٍ فَأَتَمَّهُنَّ ۖ قَالَ إِنِّي جَاعِلُكَ لِلنَّاسِ إِمَامًا ۖ

And when his Lord tried Abraham with certain words, he fulfilled them. He said: Surely I will make you an Imam of the people (2:124).

Moses attained perfection and became an archprophet and bringer of a code of religious law after years of trials and proselytizing the Israelite tribes, challenging the Egyptians, confronting Pharaoh, fleeing to the Land of Palestine, wandering in the desert for forty years along with the Israelites, forty nights of communion with God,

going to Mount Sinai thirsty and hungry, and bearing the vestiges of divine greatness and splendor.

For forty years, the Greatest Prophet, Muhammad Ibn ʿAbdillāh, was all alone in Mecca. His situation was such that he had to go outside Mecca, God's House, to commune with God—even though he was a citizen of Mecca, he had to go to Mount Nūr, specifically the Cave of Ḥirāʾ, to be alone with God. Even though the cave is in the foothills of the mountain, climbing there is difficult and dangerous. He would stay in that cave for several days—a week, and sometimes two.

Of course, their natures were quite different from the common people's, just as ordinary people differ in characteristics, attributes, desires, behavior, and so on—not to mention their different heights, sizes, colors, and various physical features. However, this difference does not mean that they are not also accountable or that their infallibility negates their freedom of choice. They all have to attain perfection by obeying God's commands, accepting His Unity, and struggling in His way.

الناس معادن كمعادن الذهب والفضة.[26]

"People are mines—like gold and silver mines."

Just like gold and silver mines, people's desires, attributes, brightness, ranks, and talents vary both quantitatively and qualitatively. Their attributes differ just as copper mines, iron mines, gold mines, silver mines, and diamond mines all differ from one another. But the point is, just as every mineral has to be extracted, sent to the furnace, heated in the fire, and melted, and its pure part must be separated from all impurity, and just as pearls and diamonds must also be given to expert turners to polish and fashion into desirable shapes, so too must people struggle throughout their lives and surrender to God. They must give up conceit, and desire to meet God.

Every man has to perfect his God-given talent and put it to use—he must not sit idle and link himself to aimless and hopeless people. Messengers are duty-bound to purify the essence of their nature. Imams are duty-bound to obey God's commands to the letter to attain the pure position of guardianship. Saints are duty-bound to keep their nature bright and pass over the vales of illumination. Other people also have to cleanse their souls, no matter what, keep them pure and sincere, unadulterated by perfidy or malice, and leave their desires and please the Beloved Deity. No one has a duty to become like anyone else. On the Day of Resurrection, Shimr will not be asked: "Why were you not like the Master of the Martyrs? Why did you not

become an imam?" He will be asked: "Why did you choose to behead the Imam?"

They will not ask Salmān Fārisī: "Why are you not similar to Ali?" They will ask him: "Did you use all the potential given to you by God to please Him or not?"

Abū Dharr will not be asked: "Why are you not like Salmān Fārisī?" They will ask him: "Were you the best Abū Dharr you could be?"

Therefore, the messengers' God-given infallibility and purity are not forced on them—quite the opposite. In fact, we can think of them as caused by the noble spirit that an obedient servant has, and caused by laudable talents that those greats have, because of the disposition they have from doing good deeds.

The hadiths that tell us that God created them two thousand years, seven thousand years, or even seventy thousand years before creating the world and Adam do not mean temporal precedence, but rather hierarchical and causative precedence in the abstract. The time referred to means the size of the luminous abstract worlds compared to the world of nature.

Prophets Share the Same Human Nature as Everyone Else

From the above, we understand that the messengers, like everyone else, have their own desires, attributes, freedom of choice, and other spiritual and material aspects—they are human beings in every sense of the word. They have decency and modesty; they dread, fear, rejoice, become sad, cry, and laugh. They have bodies, so they become hungry and eat; they become thirsty and drink water; they instinctively want to marry, and they experience sexual desire.

They feel pain, grief, loneliness, joy, and happiness. However, they use all these feelings to please their Beloved Deity; they desire His Noble Face:

وابتغاء لوجهه الكريم.

The Prophet, the seal of the messengers and the prophets, was not free of these attributes, and just like all other messengers and prophets, he had these human attributes. He was determined to propagate God's laws and commands, and to spread the Qur'an. He exhausted himself striving to guide the people and lead them onto the straight path. He became upset about the stubbornness of the unbelievers, but persevered at communicating God's verses to the people. He would sometimes become so angry with people's irreverence

that he would turn red in the face, and his veins would throb. Sometimes he was so bashful and modest that people would call him bashful. There are some verses in the Qur'an that say that he would make life difficult for himself:

طه مَا أَنزَلْنَا عَلَيْكَ الْقُرْآنَ لِتَشْقَىٰ.

We have not sent down the Qur'an to you that you may be distressed! (20:1–2)

لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ أَنفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَنِتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكُم بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَءُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ.

Certainly a Messenger has come to you from among yourselves; grievous to him is your falling into distress, excessively solicitous respecting you; to the believers (he is) compassionate (9:128).

فَلَعَلَّكَ بَاخِعٌ نَّفْسَكَ عَلَىٰ آثَارِهِمْ إِن لَّمْ يُؤْمِنُوا بِهَٰذَا الْحَدِيثِ أَسَفًا.

Then maybe you will kill yourself with grief, sorrowing after them, if they do not believe in this announcement (18:6).

God says about his modesty and bashfulness:

إِنَّ ذَٰلِكُمْ كَانَ يُؤْذِي النَّبِيَّ فَيَسْتَحْيِي مِنكُمْ.

...surely this gives the Prophet trouble, but he forbears from you (33:53).

This behavior of yours disturbs the Messenger, but he is too shy to ask you to leave.

He did not reject what people said to him; he was so trusting that they would say: "Muhammad is all ears; whatever is said to him, he accepts it." He took people's word without rejection or dispute. The Qur'an says:

وَمِنْهُمُ الَّذِينَ يُؤْذُونَ النَّبِيَّ وَيَقُولُونَ هُوَ أُذُنٌ قُلْ أُذُنُ خَيْرٍ لَّكُمْ يُؤْمِنُ بِاللَّهِ وَيُؤْمِنُ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ.

And there are some of them who molest the Prophet and say: He is one who believes every thing that he hears; say: A hearer of good for you (who) believes in God and believes the faithful (9:61).

The Messenger was commanded to marry his cousin Zaynab, whom his foster-son, Zayd Ibn Ḥārithah, had divorced, even though it was socially unacceptable to the Arabs—and considered to be like marrying one's own daughter-in-law—in order to put an end to the old Arab custom. He married her so as to be known as the first man to do so. He feared doing so until a verse was revealed:

وَتَخْشَى النَّاسَ وَاللَّهُ أَحَقُّ أَن تَخْشَاهُ.

...and you feared men, and God had a greater right that you should fear Him (33:37).

Concerning his faithful communication of God's words, the Qur'an says:

وَلَوْ تَقَوَّلَ عَلَيْنَا بَعْضَ الْأَقَاوِيلِ (44) لَأَخَذْنَا مِنْهُ بِالْيَمِينِ (45) ثُمَّ لَقَطَعْنَا مِنْهُ الْوَتِينَ (46) فَمَا مِنْكُمْ مِنْ أَحَدٍ عَنْهُ حَاجِزِينَ

And if he had fabricated against Us some of the sayings, We would certainly have seized him by the right hand, then We would certainly have cut off his aorta. And not one of you could have withheld Us from him (69:44–47).

The Prophet Dreaded Announcing Imam Ali's Guardianship

Now that these premises are clear to us, it is time we said that the Prophet dreaded publicly announcing the Master of the Faithful's guardianship. He knew what his companions and enemies were like, and what would happen when he made the announcement!

The Prophet was not afraid they would slay him, throw him off a mountain, or poison him; he was prepared to give his life for the sake of God and fulfil His commands—he was ready to sacrifice himself in the way of God.

The Messenger feared that the people would rebel against him; that his opponents, who were mostly well-to-do and swayed influence over people, might impose their power on the masses, win them over, deny the prophecy and Islam, and make them disbelieve. He was afraid that they would nefariously claim that prophethood was a materialistic government and chiefdom. They would tell the masses: "Look, he is passing away, so he is transferring his chiefdom and imamate to his son-in-law and dear cousin! He has no son; in the absence of a son, a son-in-law can inherit. Now he has entrusted the government and sovereignty to his son-in-law!"

Thus, if they did so, and the masses also disagreed with him, assaulted him, and rebelled against him, what would happen? His twenty-three years of struggle for Islam would have been in vain, and he would be shamed with regard to his covenant to discharge his duties right up until the end. The Messenger was waiting for an opportunity and the right time, and was always trying to pave the way for it. Even though Gabriel had come down and told him to announce his cousin's appointment as guardian to the people, he had not decided the right time to make the proclamation. The Messenger was determined and was preparing himself to announce it on the Farewell Pilgrimage—the main purpose of which was to proclaim Ali's guardianship.

He wrote a letter to the Master of the Faithful, whom he had sent to Yemen, to collect the tax revenue and then return to Mecca where they could meet. They became partners in the rites and the sacrifices, and sacrificed a hundred camels at Minā—this honor was exclusive to the Master of the Faithful. It was too much for some to bear, especially those who had objected to the minor pilgrimage and *ḥajj* separated by a break from pilgrim sanctity (*al-ᶜumrah wa ḥajj al-tamattuᶜ*). They were tired with, upset with, and irritated by the Messenger.

In total, the Prophet delivered five sermons in Mecca and ᶜArafāt, but in none of them did he deliver Gabriel's message and discharge his responsibility by announcing Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as his successor as the people's guardian; he only spoke about respect for and obedience to the Household.

This was still positive because it paved the way for the appointment of the successor; in his last sermon at Minā he even advised people to take care of God's Book and the infallible Household. He said that they would be together until they reach the Pool—they would ensure mankind's happiness and prosperity.

The Prophet, along with his companions and caravans, left Mecca for Medina on Wednesday, the 14th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah. The following day, three days before the Ghadīr, Gabriel brought down God's words:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ وَإِن لَّمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ
إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ.

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message, and God will protect you from the people; surely God will not guide the unbelieving people (5:67).

This verse, as threatening as it is, was revealed to say that the time to think of the greater good and about paving the way is over. Time is up, and the opportunity is slipping away. Know that God Himself has undertaken to guard and protect Islam against tampering by the unbelievers, and He will stop them from reaching their desires and intentions.

The guardianship is as important as the prophecy; if you delay in announcing it then you will not fulfil your duty!

Ali must be presented to the nation publicly, at one gathering at which all tribes are present. He will be the custodian of the religion after you. He is the one who was appointed as your caliph and heir at the first assembly of the clans, according to the verse of warning and the hadith recounting this assembly. He is the one who was with

you all the time: every hour, every day, and every month; he followed you wherever you went, in battle and in sorrow and desperation, and he it was who defended you with his cutting sword! He is an ocean of knowledge; he has received your everlasting knowledge and passed it on through thousands of canals to the world! He is the one who took your place in your bed on the night you migrated from Mecca to Medina; that night, he put his life in danger until morning and all the while Gabriel and Michael were sitting at his bedside—God honored those two angels by allowing them to be with him.

The honorable Messenger went to Juḥfah, where the road to Medina separates from the road to the Levant and Iraq: the furthest point reached by all *ḥajj* caravans before they separate. He went to Ghadīr Khumm and stayed there, commanding all pilgrims to come together—it was the place to appoint the Master of the Faithful.

It is related in some hadiths and exegeses that the verse

بلغ

was revealed right there; the Messenger dismounted and commanded all the people to gather round.

Āyatollāh Kompānī's Ode about the Ghadīr

The late Āyatollāh Ḥajj Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Iṣfahānī, may God be pleased with him, wrote an ode made up of quintuplets on the matter. We shall now cite a number of parts from it:

صبا به شهر یار من بشیر وار می رسد　　چه بلبلان خوشنوا ز لاله زار می رسد
یا تو ای صبا که از تو بوی یار می رسد　　نوید وصل یار من ز هر کنار می رسد
خوش آن دمی که بینمش نشسته در کنار من
صبا درود بیکران بحیث یَملأ القَضا　　بکن نثار آستانهٔ علیّ مرتضی
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حقيقة المثاني ومكمّل عقول شد به رتبه حقّ ثاني وخليفة رسول شد
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The east wind blew on my master, announcing glad-tidings, like warbling nightingales coming from a garden of red anemones
Come east wind, the scent of the beloved is on you,
The glad tidings come from everywhere bringing news of the meeting with the beloved
How beautiful that moment is when I see my beloved sat next to me!
O east wind, scatter my greeting which has no end so that it fills the space on Ali the pleasing one's (al-Murtaḍā's) steps,
He is the master of apportionment and in charge of the decree

you all the time: every hour, every day, and every month; he followed you wherever you went, in battle and in sorrow and desperation, and he it was who defended you with his cutting sword! He is an ocean of knowledge; he has received your everlasting knowledge and passed it on through thousands of canals to the world! He is the one who took your place in your bed on the night you migrated from Mecca to Medina; that night, he put his life in danger until morning and all the while Gabriel and Michael were sitting at his bedside—God honored those two angels by allowing them to be with him.

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He is the ocean of knowledge, clemency, the axis of approval,
and the Kaʿbah of his door is my circumambulation, and the shelter in which I seek refuge.
Look at the manifestations of the Essence in seeing him and look at the true essences of the Real's Attributes—the manifestations of his existence
And look at the lofty letters in the manuscript of his existence and look at the perfect completeness within him because he is cut off from any limitations.
Verily my beloved transcends all limitations (because of his link to the Exalted God)
He became the layer of the bases, the builder of the foundations, the conceptualizer of the meanings, and the detailer of the sections,
He became the truth of the oft-repeated verses and the perfecter of minds
He became second level to the Real and the Messenger's successor;
The caliphate was in my master's name from the beginning of time.
The Ghadīr was just a drop in the ocean of his virtues
And the sunlight was just a ray of the light of his piercing star.
Eternal pleasure is but a little of the table spread of his gifts, and I wish he would bestow on me a glance drawing me to his side.
So that I can brag proudly till the felt cap of my pride reaches the gap between the two bright stars of Ursa Major!
What a difference there is between the osprey and wild animals and beasts
Do not compare the rational being with the camel, which has no reason!
Do not compare someone who drinks the dregs from a cup with someone who has made himself old and gray selling wine
And if you are a monotheist wash all engravings from the tablet of your heart!
It is not appropriate for the heart to be drawn or captivated by anyone but my master who keeps the Secrets.
His appointment as master at the Ghadīr has been a future fixed since sempiternity, set in the record of sempiternity
It really was from the beginning recorded in the old Book.
The pen wrote on the tablet of the heart of the Master of All Nations that he had come to complete the religious code and perfect the blessings.
And my master became chosen to hold the reins of the religion!
The master of love became aide to the perfect mind by the Real's command,
And the Master of Conquests (the Master of the Faithful) became the successor to the Seal of the Messengers;
The banner of guidance reached the hand of the guide on the paths.
And the pleasantness of obedience to him is an eternal blessing.
Hell is nothing but a kindling of the anger of that great man!

And in an assembly in which the Pre-Eternal Beloved was its shining candle
The water carrier took eternal love! [A reference to the Prophet taking the Master of the Faithful's hand on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm]
He announced him as master and made his status clear
For he is my successor and is in charge of all affairs after I am gone;
The rein of my deep-rooted strong religion is in his hand.
His opponent who promised obedience and service to him
did not drink the water of life from the spring of Ghadīr.
He whose nature is fierceness like pigs and wild dogs,
Or stinging like snakes, and scorpions,
Can do what he likes to my master whose quarry is kings and princes.[27]

The Onerous Nature of Imam Ali's Appointment as Immediate Successor

It must be made clear that his appointment as imam and caliph was not a luxury for him to enjoy. On the contrary, it was an onerous responsibility to discharge his duty as fully as possible. How difficult and tiring it was! Many events were to occur subsequently that had to be solved peacefully and with great forbearance, for example, sitting silently pursuant to the Prophet's testamentary instructions, and not rising up, sword drawn, when they made haste to usurp his right and he had no one to help or assist him.

In fact, the position of guardianship means enduring hardships, difficulties, and whatever else besets both the guardian and his position until the Day of Resurrection. The appointment represents an announcement of forbearance and perseverance in the face of the obstacles to the guardianship placed by Satan and the commanding souls of sickly oriented, ignorant people. Every day they place new obstacles in the path of guardianship.

How difficult the Day of Ghadīr was for the Master of the Faithful! How awesome and splendid a day it was!

No one should imagine that the Day of Ghadīr was an enviable day of worldly joy. In fact, the opposite is true.

Just as the commencement of the Prophetic Mission in the Cave of Ḥirā' was the first day of descent into the world of multiplicity, and the undertaking of a task that necessarily entailed confrontation with people like Abū Jahl, Abū Lahab, and Abū Sufyān, and the first day of enduring the hardships and difficulties of propagating God's messages, and obeying Heaven's commandment to smash the idols of the days of ignorance, the Prophet now had to deal with and suffer the opinions and thoughts that the ignorant constantly inflicted on him.

Therefore, after receiving the message, the Messenger shuddered with fear, and when he returned home, his severe fever made him collapse, and he wrapped himself up in a blanket and lay down in a corner of his room. Soon afterwards Gabriel came down to him and recited

قُمْ فَأَنْذِرْ وَرَبَّكَ فَكَبِّرْ

Arise and warn and your Lord do magnify (74:2–3), after the words

يَا أَيُّهَا الْمُدَّثِّرُ

O you who are enveloped in the mantle (74:1), and

قُمِ اللَّيْلَ إِلَّا قَلِيلًا

Rise [to pray] all but a little of the night (73:2), after the words

يَا أَيُّهَا الْمُزَّمِّلُ

O you wrapped up in [your] garments (73:1).

The Messenger was aware how serious the problems he would encounter would be when he announced the appointment of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as master: beating, insults, and the slaying and imprisonment of his offspring. He willingly accepted all of this for God's sake and pleasure because of the verse

بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ

Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord (5:67). Ali also gladly accepted it, happy to answer the Real's call and carry out his divine mission.

Via an unbroken chain of transmission, Ḥāfiẓ Abū Nuʿaym Iṣfahānī quotes Abū Barzah as saying that the Prophet said:

إِنَّ اللهَ تَعَالَى عَهِدَ إِلَيَّ عَهْداً فِي عَلِيٍّ، قُلْتُ: يَا رَبِّ بَيِّنْهُ لِي،

قَالَ: اسْمَعْ، قُلْتُ: سَمِعْتُ،

قَالَ: إِنَّ عَلِيّاً رَايَةُ الْهُدَى، وَإِمَامُ أَوْلِيَائِي، وَنُورُ مَنْ أَطَاعَنِي، وَهُوَ الْكَلِمَةُ الَّتِي أَلْزَمْتُهَا الْمُتَّقِينَ،

مَنْ أَحَبَّهُ أَحَبَّنِي، وَمَنْ أَبْغَضَهُ أَبْغَضَنِي، فَبَشِّرْهُ بِذَلِكَ، فَجَاءَ عَلِيٌّ فَبَشَّرْتُهُ

فَقَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ، أَنَا عَبْدُ اللهِ، وَفِي قَبْضَتِهِ فَإِنْ يُعَذِّبْنِي فَبِذَنْبِي، وَإِنْ يُتِمَّ لِي الَّذِي بَشَّرْتَنِي بِهِ، فَاللهُ أَوْلَى بِي،

قَالَ: قُلْتُ: اللَّهُمَّ اجْلُ قَلْبَهُ، وَاجْعَلْ رَبِيعَهُ الْإِيمَانَ،

قَالَ اللهُ: قَدْ فَعَلْتُ بِهِ ذٰلِكَ، ثُمَّ إِنَّهُ رَفَعَ إِلَيَّ أَنَّهُ سَخِطَهُ مِنَ الْبَلَاءِ بِشَيْءٍ لَمْ يَخُصَّ بِهِ أَحَداً مِنْ أَصْحَابِي.

قُلْتُ: يَا رَبِّ أَخِي وَصَاحِبِي!

قَالَ: إِنَّ هٰذَا شَيْءٌ قَدْ سَبَقَ، إِنَّهُ مُبْتَلًى وَمُبْتَلًى بِهِ[28]

The Exalted God made a covenant with me concerning Ali. So I said: "Lord! Explain it to me!" He said: "Listen." I said: "I am listening."

He said: "Surely, Ali is the banner of guidance, the imam of My friends, the light for whoever obeys Me and the word by which I have bound the God-fearing. Whoever loves him loves Me, but whoever hates him, hates Me! So, tell him the glad tidings!"

Thereafter Ali came [in], so I told him the glad tidings. He then said: "God's Messenger, I am God's servant and in His Hand; if He punishes me it will be because of my sin, and if He completes for me what you have told me the glad tidings of, well He has greater authority over me!"

I said: "O God, light up his heart and make its life belief!"

God replied: "I have done so for him." He then put it to me that He would exclusively test him unlike any of my companions.

I then said: "O Lord! My brother and companion!"

Stated He: "This is something that has been decreed. He will surely be tested; [others] will be tested through him."

Imam Ali's Trials and Tribulations after God's Messenger's Death

Also via an unbroken chain of transmission, Ibrāhīm Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mu'ayyad Ḥammūʾī narrates on the authority of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib:

I was walking with the Prophet on one of the roads in Medina and we came to a garden. I said: "God's Messenger, how beautiful this garden is!"

[The Prophet] replied: "How beautiful it is? But Ali, you will have one better than this in Heaven!" We then came to another garden, and I said: "God's Messenger, how beautiful this garden is!"

He replied: "How beautiful it is?! Ali, you will have better than this in Heaven!"

We then came to another garden, and I said: "God's Messenger, how beautiful this garden is!"

God's Messenger replied: "You will have better than this in Heaven!"

We walked until we had reached seven gardens; every time we passed one of them, I would say: "O Messenger, how beautiful it is!" and he would reply: "You will have better than this in Heaven!"

فَلَمَّا خَلَا لَهُ الطَّرِيقُ اعْتَنَقَنِي وَأَجْهَشَ بَاكِياً فَقُلْتُ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ مَا يُبْكِيكَ؟
قَالَ: ضَغَائِنُ فِي صُدُورِ أَقْوَامٍ لَا يُبْدُونَهَا لَكَ إِلَّا بَعْدِي!
قُلْتُ: فِي سَلَامَةٍ مِنْ دِينِي؟! قَالَ: فِي سَلَامَةٍ مِنْ دِينِكَ.[29]

And when the road was empty, he hugged me and burst into tears and I asked: "God's Messenger, what is making you cry?" He replied: "Grudges in people's hearts (*ṣudūr*) that they will only reveal after I am gone!" I asked: "Will my religion be secure?" He replied: "It will be secure."

Muwaffaq Ibn Ahmad also narrates from Abū Saʿīd Khūdrī:

God's Messenger told Ali about the fighting he would encounter [at the hands] of his enemies:

فَبَكَى عَلِيٌّ وَقَالَ: أَسْأَلُكَ يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ بِحَقِّ قَرَابَتِي وَبِحَقِّ صُحْبَتِي أَنْ تَدْعُوَ اللهَ أَنْ يَقْبِضَنِي إِلَيْهِ!
فَقَالَ: يَا عَلِيُّ! أَنَا أَدْعُو اللهَ لَكَ لِأَجَلٍ مُؤَجَّلٍ! فَقَالَ: يَا رَسُولَ اللهِ! عَلَى مَا أُقَاتِلُ الْقَوْمَ؟! قَالَ: عَلَى الْأَحْدَاثِ فِي الدِّينِ.[30]

Ali then cried and said: "I ask you, by my familial relationship and by my being [your] companion, to ask God to take me up to Himself!" He replied: "O Ali! I ask God to delay your death." [Ali] said: "God's Messenger, what will I fight the people over?" He replied: "Over innovation in the religion!"

Also, via his chain of narration from Abū Laylā, from his father, Muwaffaq Ibn Ahmad Khārazmī says:

At the Battle of Khaybar, the Prophet gave Ali the banner, and God granted him victory; on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, he informed everybody that he was the master of all believers, male and female. [The Messenger] told him: "You are part of me and I am part of you, and you will fight over the interpretation of the Qur'an, as I have fought over its revelation!" He also told him: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there will be no prophet after me." [Furthermore,] he told him:

> I am peace to whoever is at peace with you, and war to whoever is at war with you. You are the indissoluble bond! You will explain whatever confuses them after I am gone. You will be the master of every believer, male or female, after I am gone. You it is about whom God revealed:
>
> وَأَذَانٌ مِنَ اللهِ وَرَسُولِهِ إِلَى النَّاسِ يَوْمَ الْحَجِّ الْأَكْبَرِ.
>
> *And an announcement from God and His Messenger to the people on the day of the greater pilgrimage* (9:3).
>
> You will be he who follows my tradition and defends my religion! You and I will be the first ones for whom the earth will split open [at the resurrection], and you will enter Heaven with me; Hasan, Husayn, and Fāṭimah will be with us. God has revealed to me to proclaim your merit, so I told everyone and communicated everything that the Blessed and Exalted God commanded me to.

ثُمَّ قَالَ: اتَّقِي الضَّغَائِنَ الَّتِي كَانَتْ فِي صُدُورِ قَوْمٍ لَا تُظْهِرُهَا إِلَّا بَعْدَ مَوْتِي، أُولَئِكَ يَلْعَنُهُمُ اللهُ وَيَلْعَنُهُمُ اللَّاعِنُونَ وَيَبْكِي.

ثُمَّ قَالَ: أَخْبَرَنِي جَبْرَائِيلُ أَنَّهُمْ يَظْلِمُونَكَ بَعْدِي، وَأَنَّ ذَلِكَ الظُّلْمَ لَا يَزُولُ بِالْكُلِّيَّةِ عَنْ عِتْرَتِنَا حَتَّى إِذَا قَامَ قَائِمُهُمْ، وَعَلَتْ كَلِمَتُهُمْ، وَاجْتَمَعَتِ الْأُمَّةُ عَلَى مَوَدَّتِهِمْ، وَالثَّانِي لَهُمْ قَلِيلٌ، وَالْكَارِهُ لَهُمْ ذَلِيلٌ، وَالْمَادِحُ لَهُمْ كَثِيرٌ.

He then said: "Beware the grudges in people's hearts, not revealed until after my death. God and the cursers will curse them." He wept, and then added:

> Gabriel has told me that they will wrong you after I am gone, and that wrongdoing against our offspring will not stop completely until their implementer (Qā'im) rises up. Their word is listened to, and the whole nation agrees to love them; those who despise them will be few, those who hate them will be humiliated, and those who praise them will be many.

That will be when the towns change, [God's] servants are weak, and there is despair of salvation. The implementer will [re]appear with his companions. God will reveal the truth through them; they will extinguish falsehood with their swords; people will follow them, desirous of them and out of fear of them! Rejoice over the salvation because God's promise is truth, and is never broken, and His decree is unstoppable; He is the Wise, the Aware, and God's victory is nigh.

اللّٰهُمَّ إِنَّهُمْ أَهْلِي فَأَذْهِبْ عَنْهُمُ الرِّجْسَ وَطَهِّرْهُمْ تَطْهِيراً، اللّٰهُمَّ اكْلَأْهُمْ وَارْعَهُمْ، وَكُنْ لَهُمْ وَانْصُرْهُمْ وَأَعِزَّهُمْ وَلَا تُذِلَّهُمْ، وَاخْلُفْنِي فِيهِمْ إِنَّكَ عَلَى مَا تَشَاءُ قَدِيرٌ.[31]

O God! They are my Household, so keep uncleanness away from them and purify them thoroughly! O God! Preserve and protect them! Be there[32] for them, help and strengthen them, do not humiliate them, and look after them after I am gone. Surely You have power over whatever You please!

And Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib said:

كُلُّ حِقْدٍ حَقَدَتْهُ قُرَيْشٌ عَلَى رَسُولِ اللهِ (ص) أَظْهَرَتْهُ فِيَّ، وَسَتُظْهِرُهُ فِي وُلْدِي مِنْ بَعْدِي؛ مَالِي وَلِقُرَيْشٍ؟ إِنَّمَا وَتَرْتُهُمْ بِأَمْرِ اللهِ وَأَمْرِ رَسُولِهِ، أَفَهَذَا جَزَاءُ مَنْ أَطَاعَ اللهَ وَرَسُولَهُ إِنْ كَانُوا مُسْلِمِينَ؟![33]

Whatever grudge the Quraysh bore against the Prophet, they revealed against me, and they will reveal it against my offspring after I am gone. What is it with me and the Quraysh? I only spilled their blood by God's and His Messenger's command. Is this then the reward for whoever obeys God and His Messenger if they are Muslims!

وَمَا نَقَمُوا مِنْهُمْ إِلَّا أَنْ يُؤْمِنُوا بِاللهِ الْعَزِيزِ الْحَمِيدِ.

And they did not take vengeance on them for aught except that they believed in God, the Mighty, the Praised (85:8).

اللّٰهُمَّ اجْعَلْنَا مِنَ الْمُتَمَسِّكِينَ بِوِلَايَةِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ.

O God! Make us of those who cling to the authority of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the Master of the Faithful.

Lessons Ninety-Four to Ninety-Seven
God's Messenger's Sermon at Ghadīr Khumm

LESSONS NINETY-FOUR TO NINETY-SEVEN

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

And blessing upon Muhammad and his pure Household, and God's curse on his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection! There is no power or strength except through the Lofty, Glorious God.

The Wise God says in His Glorious Book:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ.

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message, and God will protect you from the people; surely God will not guide the unbelieving people (5:67).

حب النبي واهل البيت معتمدى اذا الخطوب اساءت رأيها فينا 1

ايا بن عم رسول الله افضل من ساد الانام وساس الهاشميينا 2

يا قدوة الدين يا فرد الزمان اصخ لمدح مولى يرى تفضيلكم دينا 3

هل مثل سبقك الاسلام لو عرفوا وهذه الخصلة الغراء تلفينا 4

هل مثل علمك ان زلوا وان وهنوا وقد هديت كما اصبحت تهدينا 5

هل مثل جمعك للقرآن تعرفه لفظا ومعنى وتاويلا وتبيينا 6

هل مثل حالك عند الطير تحضره بدعوة نلتها دون المصلينا 7

هل مثل بذلك للعافي الاسير ولل طفل الصغير وقد اعطيت مسكينا 8

هل مثل صبرك اذ خانوا واذ ختروا حتى جرى ما جرى في يوم صفينا 9

هل مثل فتواك اذ قالوا مجاهرة لولا علي هلكنا في فتاوينا 10

يارب سهل زياراتي مشاهدهم فان روحي تهوى ذلك الطينا 11

يارب صير حياتي في محبتهم ومحشري معهم آمين آمينا[34] 12

1. Love for the Prophet and his Household is my support, when calamities befall us.

2. O paternal cousin of God's Messenger, the best to lead mankind, and shepherd of the Hāshimites.

3. O leader of the religion! O peerless one throughout time! Listen to the praise of a slave who sees your superiority as religion.

4. Is there any embrace of Islam as early as yours, if they knew? And this brilliant characteristic makes up for us.

5. Is there anything like your knowledge when they stumbled, and when they flagged? It was you who guided [them] just as you started guiding us.

6. Is there anything like your compilation of the Qur'an? You know its wording, meaning, interpretation, and explanation.

7. Is there anything like your summoning the bird with a prayer, achieved by you and no one else who prays?

8. Is there anything like your charity to the afflicted captive and small child, having already given to the destitute man?

9. Is there anything like your forbearance, when they were treacherous and perfidious, and what happened at the Battle of Ṣiffīn happened?

10. Is there anything like your judgment? For, they said openly: "Were it not for Ali, we would have perished in our judgments."

11. Lord! Make my visits of their mausolea easy, because my soul loves that clay!

12. Lord! Make my life love for them and my resurrection with them! Amen, Amen!

Gabriel Comes Down at Ghadīr Khumm and the Prophet Stops

The Prophet left Mecca for Medina on the 14th along with all the pilgrims to God's House. We stated above that in total there were either 120,000 or 124,000 pilgrims with the Prophet, because the pilgrimage had been announced; the Prophet had even announced to the nearby towns and villages that he had decided to go on *ḥajj*, and whoever could afford it should follow him.

Therefore, everyone, even women—but not the sick and the elderly—took part in the pilgrimage, and Medina was quite deserted.

God's noblest Messenger had already delivered several sermons about paying attention to his Household and consulting and respecting God's Book and his [the Prophet's] family, and had paved the way to announcing the Master of the Faithful's appointment as master.

God's Messenger's caravan reached Ghadīr Khumm, near Juḥfah[35] and crossroads leading off to Medina, Egypt, and the Levant.

There, again Gabriel brought down this verse:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ.

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message, and God will protect you from the people; surely God will not guide the unbelieving people (5:67).

It is the consensus of all historians that this verse was revealed at Ghadīr Khumm on the 18th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, but they disagree over whether that was a Sunday or a Thursday. However, as we explained above, it had to have been a Sunday.[36]

Here, Gabriel asks the Prophet to stop and introduce Ali as the nation's master and imam, and communicate everything God had told him about Ali's guardianship: that Ali is the master of all creatures. Obedience to him is a duty for all.

Then, when the front-runners had already reached Juḥfah, and the stragglers had not yet caught up with the Prophet, the Prophet stopped at the Ghadīr and gave orders for the front-runners to turn back from Juḥfah, and waited for the stragglers to catch up. Thus, everyone stopped, and he ordered that [the ground] under five huge gum-acacia trees (*samur*)[37] be cleaned and swept, and he gave orders that no one should sit underneath them.

Then, when all the pilgrims had caught up with and rejoined their Prophet, the place was cleaned. The greatest Prophet came and shaded himself under the trees, and it was time for noon prayer. He told the people to come and pray with him. That day was so hot and the ground was so sun-baked that people had to spread part of their robes over their heads and part under their feet.

God's Messenger was shaded from the sun by a garment spread over a gum-acacia. A pulpit was made for him from camel saddles.

When he had finished praying, he stood atop the pulpit, delivering a sermon to the gathering. He raised his voice so that everybody could hear him and said:

الحمد لله، ونستعينه، ونؤمن به، ونتوكل عليه، ونعوذ بالله من شرور انفسنا، ومن سيئات اعمالنا، الذى لا هادى لمن ضل، ولا مضل لمن هدى. واشهد ان لا اله الا الله، وان محمدا عبده ورسوله.

اما بعد: ايها الناس! قد نبأنى اللطيف الخبير انه لم يعمر نبى الا مثل نصف عمر الذى قبله! وانى اوشك ان ادعى فاجبت! وانى مسؤول، وانتم مسؤولون: فماذا انتم قائلون؟!

قالوا: نشهد انك قد بلغت ونصحت وجهدت! فجزاك الله خيرا!

قال: ألستم تشهدون ان لا اله الا الله، وان محمدا عبده ورسوله، وان جنته حق، وناره حق، وان الموت حق، وان الساعة آتية لا ريب فيها، وان الله يبعث من فى القبور؟!

قالوا: بلى! نشهد بذلك!

قال: اللهم اشهد!

ثم قال: ايها الناس! الا تسمعون؟!

قالوا: نعم!

قال: فانى فرط على الحوض، وانتم واردون على الحوض! وان عرضه ما بين صنعاء وبصرى، فيه اقداح عدد النجوم من فضة. فانظروا كيف تخلفونى فى الثقلين؟!

فنادى مناد: وما الثقلان يا رسول الله؟!

قال: الثقل الاكبر كتاب الله، طرف بيد الله عز وجل، وطرف بأيديكم، فتمسكوا به لا تضلوا! والآخر الاصغر عترتى، وان اللطيف الخبير نبأنى انهما لن يتفرقا حتى يردا على الحوض! فسألت ذلك لهما ربى، فلا تقدموهما فتهلكوا، ولا تقصروا عنهما فتهلكوا!

ثم اخذ يد على فرفعها حتى رئى بياض آباطهما وعرفه القوم اجمعون.

فقال: ايها الناس من اولى الناس بالمؤمنين من انفسهم؟!

قالوا: الله ورسوله اعلم!

قال: ان الله مولاى، وانا مولى المؤمنين، وانا اولى بهم من انفسهم! فمن كنت مولاه فعلى مولاه.

يقولها ثلاث مرات، وفى لفظ احمد امام الحنابلة: اربع مرات.[38]

ثم قال: اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه! واحب من احبه! وابغض من ابغضه! وانصر من نصره! واخذل من خذله! وادر الحق معه حيث دار! الا فليبلغ الشاهد الغائب!

ثم لم يتفرقوا حتى نزل امين وحى الله بقوله:

اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم واتممت عليكم نعمتي ورضيت لكم الاسلام دينا.
فقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و آله: الله اكبر على اكمال الدين واتمام النعمة ورضا الرب برسالتي
والولاية لعلي من بعدي.

Praise belongs only to God. We seek His help, believe in Him, and rely on Him. We take refuge in God from the evils of ourselves and our evil actions, [God] Who is not a Guide to whoever strays, and does not mislead anyone who is guided. I testify that there is no god except God, and that Muhammad is His servant and Messenger.

Now then, people! The Kind, the Knowing has informed me that no Prophet has ever lived more than half as long as his predecessor.[39] I am about to be called and will have to answer. Surely, I will be questioned, and you [too] will be questioned! So, what will you say?

[The people] replied: "We will testify that you delivered [the message], advised, and struggled! May God reward you well!"

[The Prophet] asked: "Will you not testify that there is no god except God, and that Muhammad is His servant and Messenger, that Heaven is true, that Hell is true, that death is true, that the hour is indubitably coming, and that God will raise everyone who is in the graves?!"

[All of them] answered: "Yes, we will so testify."

[The Prophet] said: "O God! Witness [what they say]."

Then he said: "People! Do you not hear me?"

They said: "Yes, [we do]." [The Prophet] continued: "I will reach the Pool ahead of you and you will come to me at the Pool the width of which is [the distance] between Ṣanaʿāʾ and Buṣrā and in which there are as many silver cupfuls as there are stars! So watch how you treat the two weighty things after I am gone!"

A man called out: "What are the two weighty things, God's Messenger?"

He replied:

The heavier weight is God's Book, one end of which is in God's Hand and the other end of which is in your hands! So cling to it and you will not stray!

The lighter weight is my Family. The Kind, the Knowing has informed me that they will not separate from each other until they come to me at the Pool. I have asked my Lord for that for them! Do not overtake them [or] you will perish, and do not lag behind them [or] you will perish!

Then he took Ali's hand and lifted it up until the whiteness of their armpits could be seen, and everyone recognized him.

Next he said: "O people! Who has greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves?"

They replied: "God and His Messenger know best."

He continued:

> Surely, God is my Master, I am the master of the believers, and I have greater authority over them than they have over their own selves!
>
> فمن كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه
>
> And whoever's master I am, Ali is [also] his master.

He said this three times, or, according to Ahmad, the Imam of the Ḥanbalīs, four times.

He then said:

> اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه واحب من احبه وابغض من ابغضه وانصر من نصره و اخذل من خذله وادر الحق معه حيث دار.
>
> O God! Be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy; love whoever loves him, hate whoever hates him, help whoever helps him, forsake whoever forsakes him, and steer the truth with him wherever he turns! Whoever is present should tell whoever is absent.

Then they did not disperse until the custodian of God's Revelation had brought down these words:

> الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الإِسْلامَ دِينًا.
>
> *This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion* (5:3).

God's Messenger then said: "God is too Great [to describe] for perfecting the religion, completing [His] favor, and the Lord's satisfaction with my messages and Ali's guardianship after I am gone!"

The people then began congratulating the Master of the Faithful. [Two] of the first companions to congratulate him were the two shaykhs [Abū Bakr and Omar], who both said:

> بخ بخ لك يا بن أبي طالب اصبحت واسيت مولاي ومولى كل مؤمن ومؤمنة

"Bravo! Bravo, O son of Abū Ṭālib, you have become, morning and evening, my master and the master of every believer, male or female!"

Ibn ᶜAbbās said: "It became a duty around people's necks."

Ḥassān then stood up and said: "God's Messenger, let me utter some couplets about Ali for you to hear."

[The Prophet] replied: "Speak with God's blessing!"

قام حسان فقال: يامعشر مشيخة قريش اتبعها قولي بشهادة من رسول الله في الولاية ماضية. ثم قال:

So Ḥassān stood and said: "O ye elders of the Quraysh! I follow my words with a binding testimony from God's Messenger concerning the guardianship." He then said:

1 يناديهم يوم الغدير نبيهم بخم فاسمع بالرسول مناديا[40]

2 وقد جاءه جبريل عن امر ربه بأنك معصوم فلا تك وانيا

3 وبلغهم ما انزل الله ربهم اليك ولا تخش هناك الاعاديا

4 فقام به اذ ذاك رافع كفه بكف علي معلن الصوت عاليا

5 فقال: فمن مولاكم ووليكم فقالوا ولم يبدوا هناك تعاميا

6 الهك مولانا وانت ولينا ولن تجدن فينا لك اليوم عاصيا

7 فقال له: قم يا علي فانني رضيتك من بعدي اماما وهاديا

8 فمن كنت مولاه فهذا وليه فكونوا له انصار صدق مواليا

9 هناك دعا اللهم وال وليه وكن للذي عادى عليا معاديا

10 فيارب انصر ناصريه لنصرهم امام هدى كالبدر يجلو الدياجيا[41]

1. Their Prophet calls them on the Day of the Ghadīr at Khumm, so listen to the Messenger calling!
2. Gabriel came down to you by his Lord's command [to tell you] that you are protected; so do not be despondent.
3. Tell them what God, your Lord, has revealed to you; and do not fear the enemies there!
4. He then stood up with him, raising his hand [holding] Ali's hand, raising his voice loudly
5. Asking: "Who is your master and guardian?" Then, without feigning ignorance, they said:
6. "Your God is our Master, and you are our guardian! And today, you will not find anyone among us to disobey you."

7. He then said to him: "Ali, stand up because I have chosen you (*raḍituk*) as imam and guide after I am gone.
8. "So, whoever's master I am, this is [also] his master, so be helpful, sincere servants."
9. He then prayed: "O God! Be a friend to whoever is his friend, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy.
10. "Lord! Help his helpers because of their assistance to an imam of guidance, like a full moon that lights up the darkness."

When Ḥassān had recited these couplets, God's Messenger told him:

يا حسان لا تزال مؤيدا بروح القدس ما نصرتنا بلسانك[42]

"O Ḥassān, you will continue to be supported by the Holy Spirit as long as you help us with your tongue!"

Another Sermon Delivered by the Prophet at Ghadīr Khumm

The ᶜAbbāsid scribe Ahmad Ibn Abī Yaᶜqūb Ibn Wāḍiḥ, who is known as Yaᶜqūbī, says:

> God's Messenger left Mecca for Medina at night, and reached a place close to Juḥfah called Ghadīr Khumm on the eve of the 18th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah:
>
> وقام خطيبا واخذ بيد علي بن ابي طالب فقال: ألست اولى بالمؤمنين من انفسهم؟ قالوا: بلى يا رسول الله. قال: فمن كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه. ثم قال ايها الناس! اني فرطكم وانتم واردي على الحوض، واني سائلكم حين تردون علي عن الثقلين، فانظروا كيف تخلفوني فيهما. وقالوا: وما الثقلان يا رسول الله؟؟ قال: الثقل الاكبر كتاب الله سبب طرفه بيد الله وطرف بأيديكم، فاستمسكوا به ولا تضلوا ولا تبدلوا، وعترتي اهل بيتي.[43]
>
> He stood delivering a sermon, took Ali's hand, and said: "Do I not have greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves?" They answered: "Yes, God's Messenger." He said: "Then, whoever's master I am, so [too] is Ali his master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy." He then said: "O people, I will be ahead of you, and you will come to me at the Pool. I will ask you about the two weighty things when you come to me, so watch how you are going to look after them after I am gone!"
>
> They asked: "What are the two weighty things, God's Prophet?"

He replied: "The heavier weight is God's Book, a rope (*sabab*) one end of which is in God's Hand and [the other] end of which is in your hands, so cling to it and you will not go astray, and do not exchange [it for anything else], and [the lighter weight is] is my Family—my Household!"

In *al-Walāyah* (*The Guardianship*), Ṭabarī narrates on the authority of Zayd Ibn Arqam that the noblest Prophet said in his last sermon:

O ye people! We have made a covenant to you regarding that [the guardianship of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib], a pact with our tongues, and clapped hands.[44] We will pass it on to our children and families. We do not want any alternative to this. You are a witness to us, and God suffices as a witness!

[O people,] repeat what I told you, greet Ali as the Master of the Faithful, and say:

الحمد لله الذی هدانا لهذا وما کنا لنهتدی لولا ان هدانا الله.

All praise is due to God Who guided us to this, and we would not have found the way had it not been that God had guided us (7:43).

Surely God knows every voice, and what every soul hides, and He is the Wise, the Knowing; know that

فمن نکث فانما ینکث علی نفسه ومن اوفی بما عاهد علیه الله فسیؤتیه اجرا عظیما.

Therefore whoever breaks (his faith), he breaks it only to the injury of his own soul, and whoever fulfills what he has covenanted with God, He will grant him a mighty reward (48:10).

And say whatever makes God pleased with you:

فان تکفروا فان الله غنی عنکم.

If you are ungrateful, then surely God is Self-sufficient above all need of you (39:7).

Zayd Ibn Arqam says:

Right then, the people began saying:

سمعنا واطعنا علی امر الله ورسوله بقلوبنا.[45]

"We have heard, and will obey God's and His Messenger's command with all our hearts."

God's Messenger's Companions and Wives Congratulate the Imam

God's Messenger then sat down in a tent all to himself and ordered the Master of the Faithful to sit in another tent. He ordered all classes of people to go to his tent and congratulate him.

When the people had finished congratulating the Master of the Faithful, God's Messenger ordered the mothers of the believers to go to him and congratulate him, so they did so.

One of the companions who congratulated [Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib] was Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who said:

هنيئا لك يا بن ابي طالب اصبحت مولاى ومولى جميع المؤمنين والمؤمنات[46]

"Congratulations, son of Abū Ṭālib, you have become my master and the master of all believers, male and female!"

Everyone went up to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib and pledged allegiance to him as Master of the Faithful. They congratulated him by saying: "Peace be upon you, Master of the Faithful," and stretched their right hands out to clap his right hand.

Khalīlī Ṭabarī relates in *Manāqib ᶜAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib* (*The Virtues of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib*) that the first to pledge allegiance were Abū Bakr, Omar, Ṭalḥah, and Zubayr, followed by the rest of the migrants, and then everyone else according to their ranks and stations until noon and afternoon prayers were prayed together, sunset and night prayer were prayed together, and people were still, in threes, pledging allegiance and clapping [his hand with theirs].

Whenever one wave after another paid allegiance to [Imam Ali], God's Messenger would say:

الحمد لله الذى فضلنا على جميع العالمين.

"Praise be to God Who made us superior to all the worlds."

Since then, clapping and shaking hands has become a custom and formality; even those who are not entitled [to be paid allegiance to] employ [the practice].[47]

Abū Saʿīd Khūdrī says:

> By God, we had still not left the Ghadīr when the verse
>
> الْيَوْمَ يَئِسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِن دِينِكُمْ فَلَا تَخْشَوْهُمْ وَاخْشَوْنِ الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا.
>
> *This day have those who disbelieve despaired of your religion, so fear them not, and fear Me. This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion* (5:3) was revealed.

A Sunni-Narrated Hadith from *al-Nashr wa al-Ṭayy*

In a section dedicated to the Ghadīr as narrated by enemies of the Shiᶜa, Majlisī, may God be pleased with him, cites a hadith concerning the Ghadīr from *al-Nashr wa al-Ṭayy*, saying:

> The author of this book penned it as a manifest proof of Ali's guardianship for friends and foes alike. When he went to Rayy, he presented a copy of it to Mālik Shāh Māzandarān, Rostam Ibn Ali. Via his chain of transmission, he relates in that book that ᶜAṭiyya Saᶜdī said:
>
> I asked Ḥudhayfah Ibn Yamān about the Ghadīr. He said:
>
> First of all, God revealed this verse [in Medina]:
>
> النبي اولى بالمؤمنين من انفسهم وازواجه امهاتهم وأولوا الارحام بعضهم اولى ببعض في كتاب الله من المؤمنين والمهاجرين.
>
> *The Prophet has greater authority over the faithful than they have over their own selves, and his wives are their mothers; and blood-relations have the better claim to inheritance, one with respect to another, in the Book of God, than (other) believers, and (than) those who have fled (their homes)* (33:6).
>
> They asked: "God's Messenger, what is this greater authority you have over us than we have over our own selves?"
>
> The Prophet replied:
>
> السمع والطاعة فيما احببتم وكرهتم
>
> "Listening and obeying whether you like it or hate it."
>
> They said: "We listen and obey." God then revealed this verse:
>
> واذكروا نعمة الله عليكم وميثاقه الذي واثقكم به إذ قلتم سمعنا وأطعنا واتقوا الله إن الله عليم بذات الصدور.
>
> *And remember the favour of God on you and His covenant with which He bound you firmly, when you said: We have heard and we obey, and be careful of (your duty to) God, surely God knows what is in the breasts* (5:7).

Ḥudhayfah says:

We left Medina with the Prophet for the Farewell Pilgrimage. When we reached Mecca, Gabriel came down saying: "O Muhammad! God sends His greeting of peace upon you and says: 'Hoist Ali as a banner for the people!'" The Prophet cried so much that his beard was soaked, and he said: "O Gabriel! My people only recently [lived in] ignorance; I flogged them over the religion willingly and unwillingly, until they followed me, so what will happen if I elevate someone else over their necks?" Thereafter, Gabriel ascended.

The author of *al-Nashr wa al-Ṭayy* tells the full story of the Master of the Faithful's arrival from Yemen in Mecca, the [full] story of his giving away the ring, and the revelation of the verse

انما وليكم الله

Your Guardian can only be God...(5:55). [He continues] until he reaches what God's Messenger said at Minā, narrating from someone else, not Ḥudhayfah:

يا ايها الناس انى تركت فيكم أمرين ان اخذتم بهما لن تضلوا: كتاب الله وعترتى اهل بيتى، وانه قد نبأنى اللطيف الخبير انهما لن يفترقا حتى يردا على الحوض كاصبعى هاتين- وجمع بين سبابتيه- الا فمن اعتصم بهما فقد نجا، ومن خالفهما فقد هلك. الا هل بلغت ايها الناس؟ قالوا: نعم. قال: اللهم اشهد.

"O people! Surely, I am leaving among you two things, of which if you take hold, you will never go astray: God's Book and my Family, my Household! Surely the Kind, the Knowing, has told me that they will not separate from each other until they come to me at the river basin like these two index fingers (*ka aṣbaʿayya hātayn*)." He put his index fingers together (*wa jamaʿa bayna sabbābatayhi*). "Lo, whoever clings to them will be saved, and whoever disobeys them will perish. Lo! Have I delivered [the message], people?" They replied: "Yes!" He said: "God, witness!"

And when it was the last day of *tashrīq* [the 13th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah], God revealed to him

اذا جاء نصر الله والفتح

When there comes the help of God and the victory...God's Messenger then said: "My death has been announced to me." He reached Khayf Mosque, entered it, and called out: "Congregational prayer." All the people then gathered around. Thereafter, he praised and glorified God and delivered his sermon in which he said:

ايها الناس انى تارك فيكم الثقلين: الثقل الاكبر كتاب الله عز وجل طرف بيد الله، وطرف بأيديكم فتمسكوا به، والثقل الاصغر عترتى اهل بيتى فانه قد نبأنى اللطيف الخبير انهما لن يفترقا حتى يردا على الحوض كاصبعى هاتين- وجمع بين سبابتيه- ولا اقول كهاتين- وجمع بين سبابته والوسطى- فتفضل هذه على هذه.

O people! I am leaving two weighty things among you; the greater weight is the Mighty and Sublime God's Book, one end in God's Hand and the other end in your hands, so cling to it. The lighter weight is my Family, my Household. Surely the Kind, the Knowing has informed me that they will not separate from each other until they come to me at the river basin like these two fingers.

He put his index fingers together. "I do not say like these two..."—he put his index and middle fingers together—"...one being superior to the other."

After a group had listened to this sermon, [some] people gathered together and said: "Muhammad wants to keep (*yajʿal*) the imamate in his family (*ahli baytihi*)." Then four of them left Minā, entered Mecca, entered the Kaʿbah, and wrote a covenant amongst themselves that if Muhammad passed away or was killed, the leadership (*amr*) would not go to his Household. Thereafter, God revealed

أَمْ أَبْرَمُوا أَمْرًا فَإِنَّا مُبْرِمُونَ، أَمْ يَحْسَبُونَ أَنَّا لَا نَسْمَعُ سِرَّهُمْ وَنَجْوَاهُمْ بَلَى وَرُسُلُنَا لَدَيْهِمْ يَكْتُبُونَ.

Or have they settled an affair? Then surely We are the settlers. Or do they think that We do not hear what they conceal and their secret discourses? Aye! and Our messengers with them write down (43:79–80).

Here, parenthetically, Majlisī says:

Consider this gradual process by God's Messenger, and God's kindness in appointing our master, the Master of the Faithful. In the first place, God says:

وَأُولُو الْأَرْحَامِ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلَى بِبَعْضٍ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمُهَاجِرِينَ.

...and blood-relations have the better claim to inheritance, one with respect to another, in the Book of God than (other) believers, and (than) those who have fled (their homes), making it clear that the person closest to the Prophet had a greater claim than the migrants and believers. Thus, God excluded the migrants and the [other] believers from the leadership, making it exclusively for the Master of all Messengers' close relations.

Next, look at how Gabriel brought down Ali's appointment after the Prophet had set off for Mecca. When the Prophet hesitated and was concerned about his people's jealousy of Ali, [look at] how God "repeated Himself," in revealing

انما وليكم الله ورسوله

Your Guardian can only be God, His Messenger...referring to Ali [thereafter] by his attributes.

Look how the Prophet tended to pave the way, by referring to his Household at Minā and then again in Khayf Mosque.

The author of *al-Nashr wa al-Ṭayy* says:

God's Messenger left Mecca for Medina; God's Messenger kept referring back to God, and God kept revealing the same thing about Ali's guardianship. Ḥudhayfah says:

> The Prophet allowed people to travel back to Medina, and we too set out with them. Gabriel came down at Ḍajnān and told the Prophet to announce Ali's guardianship. God's Messenger set off, and then stopped at Juḥfah. When the people stopped and took up their resting places by God's Messenger's command, he delivered that brilliant, splendid sermon on guardianship.

Here he cites the sermon in full. Afterwards he refers to how the people pledged allegiance.[48]

The Hadith on the Perfection of the Religion through the *Ḥajj* and the Appointment of an Immediate Successor, as Narrated in *al-Iḥtijāj*

In *al-Iḥtijāj*, that most eminent Shaykh Abū Manṣūr Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib Ṭabarsī[49] relates via an unbroken chain of transmission from ʿAlqamah Ibn Muhammad Haḍramī that Imam Muhammad Bāqir said:

> The noblest Messenger set off from Medina, on *ḥajj*. He had passed on all the religious laws except *ḥajj* and guardianship. Gabriel came to him and told him:
>
> > O Muhammad! God, Exalted is His Name, passes on a [greeting of] peace and tells you:

I have never taken any of My prophets without completing My religion and confirming My Proof.

Now, of that, you have two duties left that you need to communicate to your people: the duty of *ḥajj*, and the duty of guardianship and the duty of succession to you. Surely, I have never left the earth without a Proof, and I never will.

Surely, God, Exalted is His Remembrance, commands you to teach (*tubailigh*) your people the *ḥajj*; go on *ḥajj*. Whoever from the city (*ahl al-ḥaḍar*), the outskirts, and the Bedouin can afford to should go on *ḥajj* with you. You should teach them the rites of their *ḥajj*, as you have taught them their prayer, almsgiving, and fasting, and instruct them in that as you have instructed them in all the laws you have communicated to them.

God's Messenger then left Medina to perform the *ḥajj* rites. The people of Medina left with him. The number who went on *ḥajj* with God's Messenger reached seventy thousand or more people, that is, as many as Moses's people, the seventy thousand whose pledge of allegiance to Aaron was taken, but who broke [their covenant] and followed the calf and the Shimronite.

Similarly, the Prophet took the pledge of allegiance to Ali as master and caliph over as many as Moses had people, but they broke [their covenant] and followed the calf and the Shimronite, following a tradition and following an example.

The chanting of "I am here" (*talbiyah*) by the people who had gone from Medina on *ḥajj* could be heard all the way between Mecca and Medina.

God's Messenger's herald had announced in Medina: "O people! God's Messenger wants to go on *ḥajj*, wants on this journey of his to show you what he has not shown you before, teach you the *ḥajj* rites, and instruct you in the light of the way he has taught you all the other laws."

When God's Messenger stopped at the waystation, Gabriel came down from the Mighty and Exalted God and said:

O Muhammad, God sends you the message of peace and tells you:

Your time and lifespan is nigh, and I am summoning you to what is inevitable and inescapable.

So, make your will and present your testamentary instruction. Apply yourself to whatever knowledge you have, and knowledge inherited from previous prophets, weapons, the

ark [of the covenant], and all the prophets' miracles you have, and hand them over to your executor and successor after your death, My extensive Proof for the people, Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib. Set him up as a banner for the people and renew his covenant, pact, and the [people's] pledge of allegiance to him.

And remind the people about the pledge of allegiance to Me I have imposed on them, the pact I have made with them, and the covenant I have committed them to: the guardianship of My friend, their master and the master of every believer, male and female, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.

For surely I have not taken any prophet until I have perfected My religion and proof, and completed My favor through [My servants] following and obeying My friend. That is because I never leave the earth without a guardian and custodian to be My proof for My servants.

فاليوم أكملت لكم دينكم وأتممت عليكم نعمتي ورضيت لكم الاسلام دينا بولاية ولي، ومولى كل مؤمن ومؤمنة على عبدي، ووحي نبي، والخليفة من بعدي، وحجتي البالغة على خلقي، مقرون طاعته بطاعة محمد نبي، ومقرون طاعته مع طاعة محمد بطاعتي، من اطاعه فقد اطاعني، ومن عصاه فقد عصاني، جعلته علما بيني وبين خلقي، من عرفه كان مؤمنا، ومن انكره كان كافرا، ومن اشرك به عنه كان مشركا، ومن لقيني بولايته دخل الجنة، ومن لقيني بعداوته دخل النار.

فاقم يا محمد عليا علما، وخذ عليهم البيعة، وجدد عهدي وميثاقي لهم الذي واثقتهم عليه، فاني قابضك الي ومستقدمك علي.

This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion (5:3) through the guardianship of My friend, the master of every believer, male and female, Ali, My servant, the executor of My Messenger, the successor after he is gone, My extensive proof for My creation.

Obedience to him is linked to obedience to Muhammad, my Prophet, and obedience to him along with obedience to Muhammad is linked to obedience to Me. Whoever obeys him obeys Me, but whoever disobeys him disobeys Me. I have made Him a banner between Me and My creation. Whoever acknowledges him is a believer, but whoever refuses to

> acknowledge him is an unbeliever; whoever pledges allegiance to him and partners (*ashraka bayʿatahu*) is a polytheist (*mushrik*), and whoever meets Me loving him will go to Heaven. Whoever meets me as an enemy to him will go to Hell.
>
> So Muhammad, hoist Ali as a banner, take their pledge of allegiance to him, and renew My covenant and pact I made to them because I am taking you up to Me and summoning you to Me!

God's Messenger then feared that his people, the hypocrites, and those who create rifts would divide up and return to their state of ignorance because of what he knew of their enmity—the enmity towards and hatred of Ali, which they felt but kept to themselves.

He asked Gabriel to ask God for protection from the people and waited for Gabriel to bring him God's

جل اسمه

protection from the people.

He then delayed it until he reached Khayf Mosque. Gabriel came down to him and told him to fulfil his covenant and hoist Ali up as a banner for the people to be guided by. However, he did not bring God's protection that [the Prophet] wanted until he reached Kurāʿ al-Ghamīm,[50] between Mecca and Medina. Thereupon, Gabriel ordered him as per God's instructions but did not bring him the protection.

God's Messenger then said: "Gabriel, I fear my people will not believe me, and not accept what I say about Ali." We already know that he had asked Gabriel for the revelation of the verse of protection, but Gabriel had delayed it. So the Prophet set off, and then when he reached Ghadīr Khumm, three miles before Juḥfah, five hours into the day, Gabriel brought him reproach, chiding, and protection from the people and said:

> O Muhammad, God, Mighty and Sublime is He, passes on the greeting of peace upon you and tells you:
>
> "يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ" في علي "وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ."
>
> *O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord* [about Ali]; *and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message, and God will protect you from the people* (5:67).

Their frontrunners were near Juḥfah, so the Prophet ordered those of them who had gone on ahead to be brought back, and those who had lagged behind them to be halted in that place for him to hoist Ali up as

a banner for the people, God having granted him [the Prophet] protection from the people.

At the behest of God's Messenger, a herald announced: "Congregational prayer," and he backed away from the right of the road, to the place where Ghadīr Mosque was later built. The Messenger ordered that [the ground] under the trees be cleaned, and a stone pulpit be set up for him. He ascended the pulpit and began delivering his sermon.

This sermon is extremely long. After praising and glorifying God, he spoke clearly and comprehensively. He referred to the essence of the religion and the spirit of faith, and relied on Qur'anic verses as proof of what he said; he spoke in detail about guardianship and the spirit of leadership (*imāmah*) and its inseparability from the Qur'an. He addressed the people as "O ye people" fifty-four times and as "O people" once. He made them concede and acknowledge, and argued rationally with them until they all conceded to him and acknowledged.

For the sake of brevity, we shall restrain ourselves from citing the particulars of that sermon. Anyone who is interested can refer to Ṭabarsī, *al-Iḥtijāj* (Najaf), vol. 1, pp. 66–84, or to *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 9, pp. 224–28.

After citing this sermon, Majlisī says: "*Kashf al-Yaqīn* says on the authority of Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ṭabarī, a Sunni scholar, that he narrates this entire hadith in his book on the authority of Muhammad Ibn Abī Bakr Ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, on the authority of Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Muhammad Dīnavarī, quoting Muhammad Ibn Mūsā Hamadānī."

The author of *al-Ṣirāt al-Mustaqīm* cites most of what pertains to the appointment and merits in this sermon, from Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī's *al-Walāyah*, via his chain of transmission from Zayd Ibn Arqam; Shaykh Ali Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Muṭahhar Ḥillī also narrates this entire sermon on the authority of Zayd Ibn Arqam.[51]

Al-Iḥtijāj also says on the authority of Imam Ṣādiq:

After God's Messenger had finished delivering this sermon, the people saw a handsome, attractive, pleasant-smelling man say: "By God, I had never seen the like of today. How emphatically he is stressing his paternal cousin. Surely it is a contract that no one but a disbeliever in the Great God and His noble Prophet would breach. Long woe betide anyone who breaches his contract!"

Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb turned around when he heard what he said, and was amazed by his appearance. He then turned to the Prophet and

asked: "Did you not hear what this man said? He said such-and-such and such-and-such!"

The Prophet asked: "Omar, do you know who that man is?" [Omar] replied: "No, I do not know."

So the Prophet said: "That is the Faithful Spirit, Gabriel. So beware breaking your covenant with Ali! Beware breaching [the contract with Ali], because, if you do so, God, His Messenger, His angels, and the believers will be quit of you!"[52]

The Background to the Revelation of *A Petitioner Prayed for Inevitable Punishment*

Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī relates in his exegesis:

Abū Isḥāq Thaʿlabī, the exegete, the imam of traditionists, says in his exegesis, titled *al-Kashf wa al-Bayān*, that Sufyān Ibn ʿUyaynah was asked about the background to the revelation of the verse

سأل سائل بعذاب واقع

A petitioner prayed for inevitable punishment (70:1).

"About whom was it revealed?"

Sufyān replied:

You have asked me a question that no one has asked me before.

My father[53] related to me from Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad Ibn Ali, and he from his forefathers, God's blessings be upon them, that when God's Messenger reached Ghadīr Khumm, he spoke to the people, who had gathered around, and took Ali's hand and said:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه

"Whoever's master I am, so [too] is Ali his master." This news then spread and flew around the towns. One of those whom it reached was Ḥārith Ibn Nuʿmān Fahrī.

[Ḥārith] then mounted his camel and set off towards God's Messenger, reached the encampment, dismounted from his camel, and then tied it up and turned towards God's Messenger's tent. God's Messenger was sitting with the migrants and helpers.

He then said:

O Muhammad, you have come to us and told us: "Abandon your 360 gods and say: 'God is One,'" and we said so. You said: "Say I am God's Messenger," and we also said so. You ordered us to pray five times a day and night, and we accepted. You ordered us to fast and we accepted. You ordered us to pay *zakāt* out of our money and we accepted. You ordered us to go on *ḥajj* to the House, and we were content. You ordered us to engage in *jihād* and we accepted. Then you were not satisfied with all that until

رفعت بضبع ابن عمك فرفعته وفضلته علينا، فقلت: من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه،
فهذا شيء منك ام من الله؟

you had lifted your paternal cousin's upper arm, elevated him, made him superior to us and said: "Whoever's master I am, so [too] is Ali his master!" Is this something from you or from God?

God's Messenger replied:

والله الذي لا اله الا هو ان هذا من الله

"By God, other than Whom there is no other god, this is from God."

When Ḥārith heard that, he turned towards his camel, saying:

اللهم ان كان هذا هو الحق من عندك فامطر علينا حجارة من السماء او ائتنا بعذاب أليم.

O God, if this is the truth from Thee, then rain upon us stones from heaven or inflict on us a painful punishment (8:32).

No sooner had he finished speaking than a stone from Heaven came down, fell on his head, and killed him on the spot! Then, God, the Exalted, revealed this verse:

سَأَلَ سَائِلٌ بِعَذَابٍ وَاقِعٍ لِلْكَافِرِينَ لَيْسَ لَهُ دَافِعٌ (٢) مِنَ اللهِ ذِي الْمَعَارِجِ.

A petitioner asked for inevitable punishment for the unbelievers—there is none to avert it, From God, the Lord of the Ways of Ascent (70:1–3).

So, God had sent His mercy, but this man asked for punishment instead! He was told:

Once mercy does not help you, no one can avert punishment from you

من الله ذي المعارج

> *from God, the Lord of the Ways of Ascent.* I sent a Guardianship in which I made the perfection of the religion and perfection of the favor. *This day have I perfected for you your religion!*
>
> اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم.[54]

Shaykh Ṭabarsī cites it in *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān* via his chain of transmission from Ḥākim Abū al-Qāsim Ḥaskānī, all the way back to Sufyān Ibn ᶜUyaynah, with the slight differences that he attributes the hadith to Imam Jaᶜfar Ibn Muhammad al-Ṣādiq, not Abū Jaᶜfar Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Bāqir; and secondly, he says that the man's name was Nuᶜmān Ibn Ḥārth Fahrī, not Ḥārith Ibn Nuᶜmān. However, at the beginning of his discussion, he has said that the person who spoke was Naḍr Ibn Ḥārith Ibn Kaldah.[55]

In *Biḥār al-Anwār,* Majlisī cites this hadith on the authority of *Tafsīr Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm,* from *al-Ṭarāʾif* by Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, on the authority of Thaᶜlabī, from *Kanz Jāmiᶜ al-Fawāʾid,* on the authority of Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbbās, via his chain of transmission from Sufyān Ibn ᶜUyaynah, and says:

> The author of *Kanz* says:
>
> > I relate this hadith via another chain of transmission from Abū Baṣīr from Imam Ṣādiq. Imam Ṣādiq recited this verse:
> >
> > سَأَلَ سَائِلٌ بِعَذَابٍ وَاقِعٍ (بولاية علی) لِلْكَافِرِينَ لَيْسَ لَهُ دَافِعٌ
> >
> > *A petitioner asked for inevitable punishment, for the unbelievers* [through Ali's guardianship]—*there is none to avert it* (70:1–2). He then said: "This is how it is in Fāṭimah's codex (*Muṣḥaf Fāṭimah*)."

Barqī narrates from Muhammad Ibn Sulaymān, from Abū Baṣīr, from Imam Ṣādiq, stating:

هكذا والله انزلها جبرئيل على النبي، وهكذا هو مثبت في مصحف فاطمة.

"By God, this is how Gabriel revealed it to the Prophet, and this is how it is recorded in Fāṭimah's codex."

Majlisī also narrates two other hadiths from *Tafsīr Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm* concerning the revelation of

سَأَلَ سَائِلٌ

about a Bedouin praying for punishment when he heard about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's guardianship:

One: *Muᶜanᶜan*[56] from Abū Hurayrah, and

Two: From Jaᶜfar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Bashrūyah Qaṭṭān, from Awzāʿī, from Ṣaᶜṣaᶜah Ibn Ṣawḥān and Aḥnaf Ibn Qays, who both said: "We heard Ibn ᶜAbbās say: 'We were with God's Messenger when that petitioner came.'" He then tells the whole story.

Al-Ghadīr quotes this hadith from Isḥāq Thaᶜlabī, almost exactly as we have from *Tafsīr Abī al-Futūḥ* with just two differences: First, it is narrated on the authority of Imam Bāqir; and, second, Ḥārth Ibn Nuᶜmān set out towards God's Messenger until he reached the valley (*abṭaḥ*). The word *abṭaḥ* does not appear in Abū al-Futūḥ's hadith.

Apart from this hadith, there are almost thirty different passages in Sunni exegeses, catalogues of narrators (*tarājim*), and books on merits (*manāqib*). For example, according to Ḥāfiẓ Ubayy ᶜUbayd Harawī's hadith in *Gharīb al-Qurʾān*, the petitioner's name was Jābir Ibn Naḍr Ibn Ḥārith Ibn Kaldah al-ᶜAbdarī.

He says in the footnote:

> It would not be surprising if the petitioner was Jābir Ibn Naḍr Ibn Ḥārith—even though Thaᶜlabī says on the authority of the majority of scholars that it was Ḥārith Ibn Nuᶜmān Fahrī—because the Master of the Faithful had killed his father, Naḍr, at the great Battle of Badr, by God's Messenger's command, after [Naḍr] had been taken prisoner. At that time, people had until only recently been unbelievers, or had not yet embraced Islam fully, so pre-Islamic enmity burned between them over pre-Islamic blood-wits, or else that is what made Jābir say what he did to avenge his father.

My comment: This opinion is supported by the fact that the person referred to in *Tafsīr Abī al-Futūḥ* is Naḍr Ibn Ḥārith Ibn Kaldah. It cannot possibly be Naḍr himself, but it could be Jābir because sons were named after their fathers—hence the reference to Naḍr.

In any case, we are now going to explain the verse

يا ايها الرسول بلغ ما انزل اليك من ربك

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord with regard to the background to its revelation and with regard to its meaning. We will then move on to the hadith

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه

with regard to its chain of transmission and its meaning because these two need to be discussed separately—they are not related to each other.

Ghāyat al-Marām quotes eight Shiᶜa hadiths and nine Sunni hadiths on the background to the revelation of the Delivery Verse.

It is the consensus of Shiᶜa *Ḥadīth* and exegetical and historical books that the verse was revealed about the guardianship of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib; thus, we shall quote a number of hadiths in Shiᶜa collections before addressing those in Sunni collections.

Imam Bāqir on the Background to the Revelation of the Delivery Verse

Muhammad Ibn Yaᶜqūb Kulaynī narrates from Muhammad Ibn Yaḥyā, from both Ahmad Ibn Muhammad and Muhammad Ibn al-Husayn, on the authority of Muhammad Ibn Ismāʿīl Ibn Bazīᶜ, from Manṣūr Ibn Yūnus, from Abū al-Jārūd, from [Imam Muhammad Bāqir] Abu Jaᶜfar. Abū al-Jārūd said:

> I heard Abū Jaᶜfar say: "God, Mighty and Sublime is He, imposed five things upon the servants. They adopted four and left one out!"
>
> I said: "May I be made your sacrifice! Will you name them to me?"
>
> He replied:
>
> > Prayer—people did not know how to pray, so Gabriel came down and said: "O Muhammad, tell them about their prayer times."
> >
> > Next *zakāt* was revealed, and he said: "Muhammad, tell them about their *zakāt*." Then fasting was revealed; prior to that, on the tenth of a month, the Prophet would send word to the surrounding villages to fast on that day. Thereafter fasting in the month of Ramaḍān, between the months of Shaᶜbān and Shawwāl, was revealed.
> >
> > Next, the *ḥajj* was revealed. Gabriel came down and said: "Tell them about their *ḥajj* as you have told them about their prayer, *zakāt*, and fasting."
> >
> > Next, the verse on guardianship was revealed. That only came to him on Friday at ᶜArafah. God, Mighty and Sublime is He, revealed this verse:
> >
> > اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم وأتممت عليكم
> >
> > *This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you* (5:3). The religion was perfected through Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's guardianship.
> >
> > At that time, the Prophet said, speaking to himself:

My nation was only recently [pre-Islamically] ignorant. When I tell them about this, concerning my paternal cousin [Ali's] guardianship, one of them will say...and another will say...

[Of course,] I said it to myself without my tongue uttering it! Resolution from God, Mighty and Sublime, then came to me, His promising me if I did not deliver, He would punish me.

Thereafter, [this verse] was revealed:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ.

O Messenger! deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message, and God will protect you from the people; surely God will not guide the unbelieving people (5:67).

God's Messenger then took Ali's hand and said: "O people! There was not a single prophet before who was not given life by God, then called, and had to answer. Now, I am almost being called and will have to answer! I will be questioned [in God's presence]! You too will be questioned! So, what will you say?"

The people said: "We will testify that you have delivered and advised sincerely, and fulfilled what was incumbent upon you, so may God give you the best reward [given] to the envoys!"

The [Prophet] said three times:

اللهم اشهد

"O God, bear witness!" He then said:

يا معشر المسلمين، هذا وليكم بعدي، فليبلغ الشاهد الغائب

"O ye Muslims! This is your master after me, and those present should tell those who are absent!"

[Imam Bāqir] Abū Ja'far said:

I swear by God that Ali was God's custodian for His creation, His Unseen, and His religion that he chose for Himself.

Then, when what came to God's Messenger came to him, he called Ali to him and said: "O Ali, I want to entrust you with what God has entrusted me with: His Knowledge, His Unseen, His creation, and His religion that He chose for Himself." O Ziyād (Abū al-Jārūd), by God, he did not make any of creation a partner to it.

Then, when what came to Ali came to him, he called his offspring, who were twelve males, and told them:

> O my sons! God, Mighty and Sublime is He, has given me one of Jacob's traditions, because Jacob called his offspring, who were twelve males, and told them who their master (*ṣāhib*) was. Lo, surely I am telling you who your master (*ṣāhib*) is or telling them to obey a master (*walī*) or guardian (*mawlā*) for them.
>
> Lo, surely these two are God's Messenger's sons: Hasan and Husayn. So listen to, obey, and help them because I have entrusted them with what God's Messenger entrusted me with: [God's] creation, His Unseen, and His religion that He had chosen for Himself.

Thus, God awarded them from Ali what He had awarded Ali from God's Messenger, so neither of them [Hasan or Husayn] was superior except in age. Whenever Hasan was present, Husayn would not say anything at that gathering until [Hasan] had left (*ḥattā yaqūm*).

Then when what came to Hasan came to him, he handed that over to Husayn. Then when what came to Husayn came to him, he called his oldest daughter, Fāṭimah Bint al-Husayn, and passed her a wrapped letter and unwrapped will. At the time of his father Husayn's martyrdom, Ali Ibn al-Husayn had a serious stomach condition, which [people] thought he would certainly die from.

Thereafter, Fāṭimah Bint al-Husayn gave Ali Ibn al-Husayn the letter and will; then, by God, that letter passed to us.

Kulaynī also relates this hadith via another chain from Husayn Ibn Muhammad, from Muᶜallā Ibn Muhammad, from Muhammad Ibn Jamhūr, from Muhammad Ibn Ismāʿīl Ibn Bazīᶜ, from Manṣūr Ibn Yūnus, from Abū al-Jārūd, from Imam Muhammad Bāqir.

Moreover, Kulaynī narrates from Muhammad Ibn Yaḥyā, from Muhammad Ibn al-Husayn and Ahmad Ibn Muhammad, from Ibn Maḥbūb, from Muhammad Ibn Fuḍayl, from Abū Ḥamzah Thumālī, from Abū Jaᶜfar [Imam Muhammad Bāqir], that [Abū Ḥamzah] said:

I heard [the Imam] say:

> When Muhammad's prophecy was over, and his days had ended, God, the Exalted, revealed to him:
>
> > O Muhammad, your prophecy is over, and your days have ended, so leave the knowledge, belief, greatest name, heirloom of knowledge, and vestiges of prophetic knowledge that are

> with you with Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib because I will not cut the knowledge, belief, greatest name, the heirloom of knowledge, and vestiges of prophetic knowledge from the successors among your progeny—just as I did not cut it from any other prophets' progenies.

Kulaynī relates from Muhammad Ibn al-Husayn and others, from Suhayl, from Muhammad Ibn ʿĪsā, Muhammad Ibn Yaḥyā, and Muhammad Ibn al-Husayn, from Muhammad Ibn Sinān, from Ismāʿīl Ibn Jābir and ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn ʿAmr, from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ibn Abī Daylam, from Abū ʿAbdillāh [Imam] Ṣādiq:

> Moses appointed Joshua son of Nūn as his executor, and Joshua son of Nūn appointed Aaron's offspring as executors and did not appoint his own children or Moses's children. It is the Exalted God's choice. He chooses whomever He wills from whomever He wills. And Moses and Joshua announced the glad-tidings of Christ.

And when God dispatched Christ, Christ told them: "There will come after me a prophet whose name is Ahmad, from Ishmael's offspring; he will bring confirmation for me [regarding my message and legitimacy], and confirmation for you [regarding belief, and good continuity], my pardon and your pardon."

And that appointment of executors, tradition, and choice continued after him among the messenger-guards.[57] God only called them guards because they had been tasked with guarding the Greatest Name—the Book by which everything is learned. God, the Exalted, says:

لَقَدْ أَرْسَلْنَا رُسُلَنَا بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ وَأَنْزَلْنَا مَعَهُمُ الْكِتَابَ وَالْمِيزَانَ

Certainly We sent Our messengers with clear arguments, and sent down with them the Book and the balance...(57:25) and the Book is the Greatest Name. It is only known by what the book—the Torah, Gospels, and Criterion—are called therein: the Book of Noah, the Book of Ṣāliḥ, the Book of Jethro and Abraham, because God, Mighty and Sublime is He, says:

إِنَّ هَذَا لَفِي الصُّحُفِ الْأُولَىٰ، صُحُفِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَمُوسَىٰ

Most surely this is in the earlier scriptures, the scriptures of Abraham and Moses (87:18–19).

So, where are Abraham's scriptures? Abraham's scriptures are none other than the Greatest Name, and Moses's scriptures are the Greatest Name. The executorship remained in world after world until they passed it to Muhammad.

Then, when God, Mighty and Sublime is He, dispatched Muhammad, the guards' offspring submitted to him, but the Israelites rejected him. He invited [people] to God, Mighty and Sublime, and struggled on His path.

Then God, Mighty is His Remembrance, revealed to him: "Proclaim the merit of your executor!" He said: "Lord, the Arabs are uncouth, rough in their interactions and dealings! They are not people of kindness or amiability. There has not been a scripture among them, or a prophet sent to them. They do not know the merit of prophets' prophecies or their nobility. They will not believe in me if I tell them about the merit of my Household." So God, Sublime is His Remembrance, said:

ولا تحزن عليهم وقل سلام فسوف تعلمون.[58]

and do not grieve for them (15:88) *and say: "Peace, for you will soon come to know"* (43:89).

He then made reference to his executor's merit, but hypocrisy fell into their hearts. Thereupon, God's Messenger realized that, and what they were saying. God, Sublime is His Remembrance, then said:

يا محمد ولقد نعلم انك يضيق صدرك بما يقولون فانهم لا يكذبونك ولكن الظالمين بآيات الله يجحدون.[59]

"O Muhammad! *And surely We know that your breast straitens at what they say* (15:97) *but surely they do not call you a liar; but the unjust deny God's Signs* (6:33)."

However, they deny without having any excuse, and God's Messenger would treat them with gentleness and seek the help of some with others. In any case, he continued citing some of his successor's merit until *Sūrat al-Inshirāḥ*:

أَلَمْ نَشْرَحْ لَكَ صَدْرَكَ

was revealed; Here, God says:

فَإِذَا فَرَغْتَ فَانْصَبْ ۔ وَإِلَىٰ رَبِّكَ فَارْغَبْ

So when you are free, hoist. And make your Lord your exclusive object (94:7–8).

He is saying: "When you are free, hoist your banner, announce your executor, and publicly reveal his merit."[60]

So God's Messenger said three times:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه. اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه

"Whoever's master I am, Ali is also his master. O God, be a guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy."

He then said:

لابعثن رجلا يحب الله ورسوله، ويحبه الله ورسوله، ليس بفرار

"I will most certainly send a man who loves God and His Messenger, and whom God and His Messenger love, not a deserter put down by whoever comes back, who calls his brothers in arms (*aṣḥābahu*) cowards and whom they call a coward." [The Prophet was referring to Abū Bakr's and Omar's desertion. The Prophet had charged them with opening the gate at Khaybar two days prior to charging the Master of the Faithful with the same, but they fled the battlefield].

He also stated:

علی سید المؤمنین

"Ali is the master of the believers."

Moreover, he stated:

علی عمود الدین

"Ali is the pillar of the religion."

He said:

هذا الذی یضرب الناس بالسیف علی الحق بعدی

"This is he who will strike the people with [his] sword over the truth after I am gone."

Furthermore, he said:

الحق مع علی اینما مال

"Truth is with Ali wherever he inclines."

He also said:

انی تارك فیکم أمرین، ان اخذتم بهما لن تضلوا: کتاب الله عزوجل، واهل بیتی عترتی، ایها الناس اسمعوا وقد بلغت: انکم سترودون علی الحوض، فأسألکم عما فعلتم فی الثقلین.

والثقلان کتاب الله جل ذکره واهل بیتی، فلا تسبقوهم فتهلکوا، ولا تعلموهم فانهم اعلم منکم!

I am leaving two things among you, to which if you cling, you will never go astray: God's Book, Mighty and Exalted is He, and my Household, my family! O people! Listen. I have delivered. You will come to me at

the Pool, and I will ask you what you have done with the two weighty things!

The two weighty things are God's Book—sublime is His remembrance—and my Household! Do not go ahead of them. Otherwise you will perish! And do not teach them, for they know better than you.

Thus the evidence was completed by the Prophet's words and the Book that people recited, but he continued teaching the Household's merit in his own words and corroborating it with the Qur'an:

إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا.

God only desires to keep away the uncleanness from you, O people of the House! and to purify you a (thorough) purifying (33:33).

God, Mighty is His Remembrance, says:

وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّمَا غَنِمْتُم مِّن شَيْءٍ فَأَنَّ لِلَّهِ خُمُسَهُ وَلِلرَّسُولِ وَلِذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ

And know that whatever thing you gain, a fifth of it is for God and for the Messenger and for the near of kin (8:41).

He then said:

وَآتِ ذَا الْقُرْبَىٰ حَقَّهُ

And give to the near of kin his due (17:26).

And it was Ali, and his due is the executorship assigned to him, the Greatest Name, the heirloom of knowledge, and the vestiges of prophetic knowledge.

[God] says:

قُل لَّا أَسْأَلُكُمْ عَلَيْهِ أَجْرًا إِلَّا الْمَوَدَّةَ فِي الْقُرْبَىٰ

Say: I do not ask of you any reward for it but love for my near relatives (42:23).

He also says:

وَإِذَا الْمَوْءُودَةُ سُئِلَتْ بِأَيِّ ذَنبٍ قُتِلَتْ

And when the female infant buried alive is asked for what sin she was killed...(81:8–9)

He is saying: "I will question you about the love, the merit of which was revealed to you: For what sin did you kill love for the near relatives?"

He also says, sublime is His remembrance:

فَاسْئَلُوا أَهْلَ الذِّكْرِ إِن كُنتُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ

...so ask the people of the Reminder if you do not know (16:43).

The Imam said: "The meaning of *the Reminder* is the Noble Qur'an. Its *people* are Muhammad's Family. God enjoined asking them. [People] were not commanded to ask the ignorant."

God, Mighty and Sublime is He, called the Qur'an a Reminder, and said:

وَأَنزَلْنَا إِلَيْكَ الذِّكْرَ لِتُبَيِّنَ لِلنَّاسِ مَا نُزِّلَ إِلَيْهِمْ وَلَعَلَّهُمْ يَتَفَكَّرُونَ.

...and We have revealed to you the Reminder that you may make clear to the people what has been revealed to them, and that haply they may reflect (16:44).

He also says:

وَإِنَّهُ لَذِكْرٌ لَّكَ وَلِقَوْمِكَ وَسَوْفَ تُسْأَلُونَ.

And most surely it is a reminder for you and your people, and you shall soon be questioned (43:44).

Similarly, He says:

أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنكُمْ.

Obey God, and obey the Messenger and those of you who are in authority (4:59) and says:

وَلَوْ رَدُّوهُ (إِلَى اللَّهِ وَ) إِلَى الرَّسُولِ وَإِلَى أُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْهُمْ لَعَلِمَهُ الَّذِينَ يَسْتَنبِطُونَهُ مِنْهُمْ.

and if they had referred it [to God and] *to the Messenger and to those in authority among them, those among them who can search out the knowledge of it would have known it* (4:83). (Note: the words "to God and" do not appear in the Holy Qur'an.)

Here, we see that He refers affairs—people's affairs—to those among them who are in authority, those to whom God has made obedience and reference mandatory.

When God's Messenger returned from the Farewell Pilgrimage, Gabriel descended and said:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ وَإِن لَّمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ.

O Messenger, deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message, and God will protect you from people: surely God will not guide the unbelieving people (5:67).

After the revelation of this verse, God's Messenger called the people to assemble, and ordered that [the ground] under some gum-acacias be cleaned, and delivered his sermon in which he said:

(يا) أيها الناس من وليكم وأولى بكم من أنفسكم؟ قالوا: الله ورسوله قال: من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه.

"O people! Who is your master and has greater authority over you than you have over your own selves?" They answered: "God and His Messenger." He then said: "Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy."

Thereupon, the thorn of hypocrisy fell into the people's hearts, and they said:

God did not reveal this to Muhammad at all;

وما يريد إلا أن يرفع بضبع ابن عمه

He wants nothing but to elevate his paternal cousin's mischief!

When he arrived in Medina, the Helpers came to him and said:

O God's Messenger! God was good to us and honored us with you and with your staying in our midst; He surely gladdened our friends and subdued our enemies. Delegations may come to you, and you will not have anything to give them. Should the enemy rejoice over your misfortune?

We want you to take a third of our property so that if a delegation from Mecca comes to you, you will have something to give them!

The Prophet did not give them any reply, waiting for what came to him from his Lord; thereafter Gabriel came down and said:

قل لا أسألكم عليه أجراً إلا المودة في القربى.

Say: I do not ask of you any reward for it but love for my near relatives (42:23).

The Prophet did not accept their property, and so the hypocrites said:

God did not reveal this verse to Muhammad either. He just wants to raise his paternal cousin's mischief and elevate his Household above us, saying yesterday:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه.

"Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master," and saying today:

قل لا أسألكم عليه أجراً إلا المودة في القربى.

Say: I do not ask of you any reward for it but love for my near relatives (42:23).

Next, the verse on the one-fifth share (*khums*) was revealed to him, and they said: "He wants to give them our money and booty."

Then, after these incidents, Gabriel came to him and said:

> O Muhammad, your prophecy has come to an end, and your days are over, so bequeath the Greatest Name, the heirloom of knowledge, and the vestiges of prophetic knowledge to Ali! For I have never left the earth without a knowledgeable one through whom obedience to Me is known, and through whom My Guardianship is known, and who is My proof for whoever is born between the taking of one prophet and the emergence of another prophet.

Imam Bāqir said: "Concerning the Greatest Name, the heirloom of the prophets' knowledge, and the vestiges of prophetic knowledge, the Prophet appointed Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as executor through a thousand words and a thousand gates, each word and each gate opening a thousand words and a thousand gates."

In his exegesis, ʿAyyāshī narrates a somewhat abridged version of this hadith from Abū al-Jārūd, from Imam Bāqir, with one addition: While Imam Bāqir was telling the people this hadith in Abṭaḥ, a man, Othman Aʿshā, who was from Basra, stood up and said: "God's Messenger's son, may I be made your sacrifice! Hasan Baṣrī related us a hadith, claiming that this verse was revealed about a man, and he could tell us who the man was!"

The Holiness answered:

مَالَهُ لَاقَضَى اللهُ دَيْنَهُ يَعْنِي صَلَاتَهُ أَمَا أَنْ لَوْ شَاءَ أَنْ يُخْبِرَ بِهِ لَأَخْبَرَ بِهِ

"What is wrong with him? May God not repay His debt, i.e. his prayer! If he wanted to, he would tell you."

Fayḍ Ibn Mukhtār's Narration about the Delivery Verse

It is narrated on the authority of Shaykh Ṣadūq, via an unbroken chain from Muhammad Ibn Fayḍ Ibn Mukhtār, from his father, from Abū Jaʿfar [Imam Bāqir], from his father, from his grandfather:

> One day, God's Messenger set off on a mount. The Master of the Faithful set off with him on foot. [The Prophet] then said:
>
> > Abū al-Ḥasan, you must either ride or go away, because the Mighty and Exalted God told me you must ride when I ride, walk when I

walk, and sit when I sit unless one of God's punishments has to be carried out.

He has not conferred a single honor upon me without conferring the like of it upon you! He bestowed the prophecy and message upon me and made you my successor therein; you stand within its boundaries and in the most difficult matters!

By Him Who has sent Muhammad as a prophet with the truth, whoever rejects you does not believe in me! He does not acknowledge me whoever denies you, and he does not entrust me whoever disbelieves in you! Your grace is of my grace, and surely my grace is God's grace. It is as the Mighty and Exalted God says:

قُلْ بِفَضْلِ اللّٰهِ وَبِرَحْمَتِهِ فَبِذٰلِكَ فَلْيَفْرَحُوا هُوَ خَيْرٌ مِّمَّا يَجْمَعُونَ.

Say: In the grace of God and in His mercy—in that they should rejoice; it is better than that which they gather (10:58).

The *grace of God* means your Prophet's prophethood! God's *mercy* means accepting Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as master. Thus, *they*, i.e. the Shi'a, *should rejoice* in that, i.e. the prophethood and accepting [Ali] as master. *It is better than that which they*, i.e. their opponents, *gather*—family, property, and children in the abode of this world! By God, Ali, you were not created for anything else but to serve your Lord, for the rites of the religion to be known through you, and for the dilapidated path to be mended by you! Whoever strays from you errs! Whoever does not follow the right direction to you or accept you as master will not follow the right direction towards God! God says:

وَإِنِّي لَغَفَّارٌ لِّمَن تَابَ وَآمَنَ وَعَمِلَ صَالِحًا ثُمَّ اهْتَدَىٰ.

And most surely I am most Forgiving to him who repents and believes and does good, then is guided aright (20:82). It means *is guided aright* to accepting you as master.

The Blessed and Exalted has commanded me to impose the same duty to you as the duty He has imposed to me. Surely, duty to you is imposed on whoever believes in me. Were it not for you, God's party would not be recognized. God's enemy is also recognized through you.

Whoever does not meet [God], accepting you as master, will not meet Him with anything! God, Mighty and Sublime, has revealed to me:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord (5:67), meaning pertaining to your being master, Ali. If you do not do so, you will not have delivered His message.

If I do not deliver what I have been commanded to, concerning your being master, all my deeds will be futile. The deeds of anyone who meets God without accepting you as master will be futile.
Tomorrow, God will keep His promise to me. I say nothing but what my Blessed and Exalted Lord says. Whatever I say is from the Mighty and Sublime God. He has revealed it about you.

ʿAyyāshī's Narration about the Delivery Verse

ʿAyyāshī narrates from Mufaḍḍal Ibn Ṣāliḥ, from one of the companions, from one of the two of them [Imam Bāqir or Ṣādiq]:

When the verse

إِنَّمَا وَلِيُّكُمُ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ وَيُؤْتُونَ الزَّكَاةَ وَهُمْ رَاكِعُونَ

Your Guardian can only be God; His Messenger, and, those who believe, who establish prayer and give charity while bowing (5:55) was revealed, it was difficult for the Prophet, and he was afraid that the Quraysh would reject him. Thus, God revealed this verse:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord (5:67), so he did so on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm.[61]

ʿAyyāshī also narrates from Ṣafwān Jammāl:

Abū ʿAbdillāh [Imam Ṣādiq] said:

When this verse was revealed about the guardianship, God's Messenger ordered that many branched trees—the many branched trees of Ghadīr Khumm—be piled up. "Congregational prayer!" was announced. He then said:

أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ أَلَسْتُ أَوْلَى بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ؟

"O people! Do I not have greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves?"

They replied: "Yes, you do." He said:

فَمَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ، رَبِّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ

"Well, whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master! O Lord, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy."

Then he commanded the people to pledge allegiance to the Master of the Faithful. Everybody pledged allegiance. No one came up without doing so. No one spoke out until Abū Bakr came. The Prophet then said: "O Abū Bakr, pledge allegiance to Ali as guardian!"

Abū Bakr asked:

مِنَ اللهِ (أ) ومِنْ رَسُولِه

"Is it from God or His Messenger?"

The Messenger replied:

مِنَ اللهِ ومِنْ رَسُولِه

"From God and His Messenger."

Then Omar came and [the Prophet] told him: "Pledge allegiance to Ali as Guardian," so Omar asked: "Is this from God or His Messenger?" and [the Prophet] replied: "From God and His Messenger." Omar then pushed his shoulders back and they met. He then said to Abū Bakr:

لَشَدَّ مَا يَرْفَعُ بِضَبْعَيْ ابْنِ عَمِّه

He has most certainly pulled what elevates his paternal cousin's mischief!"'

Here, Imam Ṣādiq tells the story of Omar's meeting with that handsome, pleasant-smelling man, and then says:

Twelve thousand people attended the Ghadīr, testifying to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's guardianship. However, Ali could not take his due! One of you has property, has two witnesses, and [still] takes his due:

فَإِنَّ حِزْبَ اللهِ هُمُ الْغَالِبُونَ فِي عَلِيٍّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلام.[62]

...then surely the party of God are they that shall be triumphant [regarding Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib].

ᶜAyyāshī quotes Ibn ᶜAbbās and Jābir Ibn ᶜAbdillāh as saying:

The God Exalted commanded His Prophet to hoist Ali as a banner for the people to tell them about his guardianship. God's Messenger then feared that [people] would say: "He has taken up his paternal cousin's cause," and occasion evil to him, so God revealed to him:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ وَإِن لَّمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ.

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message, and God will protect you from the people (5:67).

God's Messenger then announced him as guardian on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm.[63]

Moreover, ᶜAyyāshī narrates from Ḥannān Ibn Sudayr, from his father, from Imam Bāqir:

On the Farewell Pilgrimage, when Gabriel revealed to God's Messenger to announce Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's guardianship (*amr*), via this verse:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ...

O Messenger, deliver what has been revealed to you...the Prophet delayed for three days until he reached Juḥfah but did not take Ali's hand, out of fear of the people.

Then, on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, when he dismounted at Juḥfah, at a place called Mahyaᶜah, he called out:

الصلاة جامعة

"Congregational prayer!" and the people assembled. God's Messenger asked:

من اولى بكم من انفسكم

"Who has greater authority over you than you do over your own selves?" They said out loud:

الله ورسوله

"God and His Messenger."

He said it to them a second time, and they said:

الله ورسوله

"God and His Messenger." Then he said it to them a third time, and they said: "God and His Messenger."

The Prophet then took Ali's hand and said:

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ، اللَّهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ وَانْصُرْ مَنْ نَصَرَهُ، وَاخْذُلْ مَنْ خَذَلَهُ، فَإِنَّهُ مِنِّي وَأَنَا مِنْهُ، وَهُوَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي.[64]

"Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master! O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, an enemy to whoever is his enemy,

help whoever helps him, and forsake whoever forsakes him, because he is part of me and I am part of him, and he is to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me."

ᶜAyyāshī also narrates that Omar Ibn Yazīd said that Imam Ṣādiq said without being asked: "How strange, Abū Ḥafṣ, when Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib found that he had ten thousand witnesses, he could not take his due, but a man takes his due with [just] two witnesses."

God's Messenger left Medina on *ḥajj*. Five thousand people followed him. He left Mecca, five thousand people having followed him. When he arrived at Juḥfah, and Gabriel revealed Ali's guardianship, having already revealed his guardianship at Minā. However, because of the people's position, the Prophet refrained from announcing it. [Gabriel] then said [by way of revelation from God]:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ وَإِن لَّمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ.

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message, and God will protect you from the people (5:67), from what you feared at Minā. God's Messenger then ordered that gum acacias be piled up. A man among the people then said: "By God, he will surely bring you a calamity!"

I asked the narrator of this hadith: "Who was that man?" He [just] said: "The Abyssinian."[65]

Ghāyat al-Marām says:

الْحَبَشِيُّ يَعْنِي عُمَرَ بْنَ الْخَطَّاب

"The Abyssinian" means Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.[66]

Biḥār al-Anwār says after this hadith:

الْحَبَشِيُّ هُوَ عُمَرُ لِأَنَّهُ انْتَسَبَ إِلَى الصَّهْبَاكَةِ الْحَبَشِيَّة[67]

"'The Abyssinian' means Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, because he was descended from Ṣahhākah the Abyssinian."

ᶜAyyāshī narrates from Abū Jārūd, from Imam Bāqir:

When God revealed to His Prophet:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ وَإِن لَّمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message, and God will protect you from the people (5:67), God's Messenger took Ali's hand and said: "O people, there was not a single prophet before me who was not given a lifetime,

and who was not then called by God and did not answer Him. I am almost being called, and I will have to answer. I will be questioned, and you will also be questioned, so what will you say?"

They said: "We will testify that you have delivered, advised, and carried out your duty! May God give you the best reward He has given the envoys."

Thereupon, God's Messenger said:

اللّٰهم اشهد

"O God, bear witness!" He then said:

يامعشر المسلمين

O ye Muslims! Those present should tell those who are absent. [God told] and commanded [me that] "Whoever believes in and trusts me should accept Ali as guardian. Lo, Ali's guardianship is my guardianship, (and my guardianship is my Lord's Guardianship). He does not know [you do not know] a covenant made with me by my Lord. He has commanded me to communicate it to you.

He then asked three times:

هَلْ سَمِعْتُمْ؟! ثَلَاثَ مَرَّات

"Did you hear me?"

Someone said: "We heard, God's Messenger."[68]

These hadiths were just some out of the many narrated by the Shi'a.

Hadiths Narrated by Sunni Shaykhs about the Delivery Verse

There now follow hadiths and traditions narrated by Sunni shaykhs and scholars.

Ḥāfiẓ Ibn 'Asākir Shāfi'ī narrates from Abū Sa'īd Khūdrī:

This verse:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord was revealed to God's Messenger about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm.[69]

In *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, Ḥāfiẓ Ḥākim Ḥaskānī Ḥanafī relates eight hadiths via eight different chains from Abū Hurayrah, Abū Isḥāq

Ḥamīdī Khūdrī, Ibn ᶜAbbās, Ḥibrī, Qays Ibn Māṣir on the authority of ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Abī Awfā, Ziyād Ibn Mundhir Abū al-Jārūd, and Jābir Ibn ᶜAbdillāh that the verse

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ

was revealed about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm. One of them says that the Prophet raised Ali's hand [so high] that the whiteness of their armpits could be seen, and he said:

الا مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ، اللهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ ثُمَّ قَالَ: اللَّهُمَّ اشْهَدْ

"Lo, whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master! O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy." Then he said: "O God, bear witness!"

The hadith related from Ziyād Ibn Mundhir (Abū Jārūd) is almost identical to the one quoted above from *Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī* on the authority of Abū Jārūd. The hadith related from Aᶜmash, from ᶜAbāyah Ibn Ribᶜī, from Ibn ᶜAbbās, from the Prophet is the Ascension (*Miᶜrāj*) Hadith where God says:

وَإِنِّي لَمْ أَبْعَثْ نَبِيّاً إِلَّا جَعَلْتُ لَهُ وَزِيراً، وَإِنَّكَ رَسُولُ اللهِ وَإِنَّ عَلِيّاً وَزِيرُكَ

"Surely, I have never sent a prophet without appointing an aide for him; indeed you are God's Messenger and indeed Ali is your aide!"

Ibn ᶜAbbās says:

> The Prophet descended but disliked telling people any of it because they had only recently [lived] in [pre-Islamic] ignorance. Six days passed. God then revealed
>
> فَلَعَلَّكَ تَارِكٌ بَعْضَ مَا يُوحَى إِلَيْكَ
>
> *Then, it may be that you will give up part of what is revealed to you* (11:12). God's Messenger put up with this too until it was the eighteenth day and God revealed
>
> يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ
>
> *O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord* (5:67), so God's Messenger told Bilal to announce among the people that no one should fail to go out to Ghadīr Khumm the following morning. So the next day, God's Messenger and all the people went to Ghadīr Khumm, and [the Messenger] said: "O people! God has sent me to you with a message. I have been uneasy about it, unable to bear [it] out of fear that you would accuse and reject me, to the point that my Lord has reproved me with one threat revealed after another." He then took Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's hand and raised it [so high] that everybody could see the whiteness of their armpits. He then said:

ايها الناس، الله مولاى وانا مولاكم، فمن كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه،
وعاد من عاداه، وانصر من نصره، واخذل من خذله.

"O people! God is my Master and I am your master! And whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master. O God! Be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Help whoever helps him, and forsake whoever forsakes him." Then God revealed this verse:

اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم[70]

This day have I perfected for you your religion (5:3).

After citing this hadith on the authority of Ḥibrī, Ḥākim Ḥaskānī says: "The chains of transmission of this hadith are detailed in my ten-volume book titled *Duʿāʾ al-Hudāt ilā Adāʾ Ḥaqq al-Muwālāt*, which is about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's guardianship."

Blessed Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs says: "One of those who have written books on Ghadīr Khumm is Ḥākim Ḥaskānī, who called his book *Duʿāʾ al-Hudāt ilā Adāʾ Ḥaqq al-Muwālāt*."

In *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī Shāfiʿī says, by way of exegesis of God's words

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord (5:67), that Abū al-Shaykh narrates from Hasan that God's Messenger said:

> God has sent me with a message, but I am uneasy with it, unable to bear it. I have realized that people will reject me. Thus, He has warned me to deliver it. Otherwise He will punish me, and He has revealed [this verse]:
>
> يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ
>
> *O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord* (5:67).

ʿAbd Ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, and Abū al-Shaykh quote Mujāhid as saying:

> When
>
> يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ
>
> was revealed, God's Messenger said: "O Lord! I am just one! If all the people band together against me then, what should I do?" Thereafter
>
> وان لم تفعل فما بلغت رسالته

and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message (5:67) was revealed.

Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Ibn Mardawayh, and Ibn ʿAsākir quote Abū Saʿīd Khūdrī as saying that this verse:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord was revealed to God's Messenger, concerning Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm.

Ibn Mardawayh quotes Ibn Masʿūd as saying:

In God's Messenger time we used to recite:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ (ان عليا مولى المؤمنين) وَإِن لَّمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ.

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord (that Ali is indeed the Master of the Faithful), *and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message, and God will protect you from the people.*

Imam Fakhr Rāzī says in his exegesis:

The tenth possible explanation of the background to the revelation of the verse is that it is about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's merit. When this verse was revealed, [the Prophet] took Ali's hand and said:

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ، اللّٰهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ

"Whoever's guardian I am, Ali is [also] his guardian. O God! Be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy."

Then, when Omar, may God be pleased with him [sic], saw [Ali], he told him:

هَنِيئًا لَكَ يَا ابْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ

"Congratulations to you, son of Abū Ṭālib; you have become my master, and the master of every believer, male and female!"[71]

Niẓām al-Dīn Qummī Nīshābūrī narrates in his exegesis:

And then God commanded His Messenger not to pay attention to the small number of those who followed a middle course and the large number of stubborn opponents, not to fear unpleasantness from them, and said:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ...

Abū Saʿīd Khūdrī relates that this verse was revealed on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's merit.

God's Messenger took Ali's hand and said:

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ، اللّٰهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ

"Whoever's guardian I am, so too is Ali his guardian. O God! Be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy."

And then, when Omar met [Ali], he said:

هَنِيئًا لَكَ يَا ابْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ

"Congratulations to you, son of Abū Ṭālib; you have become my master and the master of every believer, male and female!" This is what ʿAbdullāh Ibn ʿAbbās, Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib, and Muhammad Ibn Ali say.[72]

In this hadith, the demonstrative pronoun

هذا

is used in a particular way:

فهذا علي مولاه

because it refers to an actual person, so it particularizes and provides emphasis. There are two hadiths cited by Abū Isḥāq Thaʿlabī Nīshābūrī in his exegesis *al-Kashf wa al-Bayān*:

i) From Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad Ibn Ali Imam Bāqir, that the meaning of

بَلِّغْ

is

بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ فِي فَضْلِ عَلِيٍّ

"Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord concerning Ali's merit." When this verse was revealed, God's Messenger took Ali's hand and said:

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ

"Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master!"

ii) Via a chain from Ibn ʿAbbās concerning God's words

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord...(5:67). He said:

> This verse was revealed about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. God commanded His Messenger to propagate Ali's guardianship; thereafter, God's Messenger took Ali's hand and said:
>
> مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ اللّٰهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ
>
> "Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master. O God! Be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy."

These two hadiths are related on the authority of Thaʿlabī in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 217–18. Their sources are stated as Ibn Biṭrīq in *al-ʿUmdah*, p. 49, Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs in *al-Ṭarāʾif*, and Irbilī in *Kashf al-Ghummah*, p. 94. In *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*, vol. 2, pp. 223, Ṭabarsī narrates the second hadith from *al-Kashf wa al-Bayān* and the first hadith from Ibn Shahr Āshūb's *Manāqib*, vol. 1, p. 526; our master, ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī—may God be pleased with him—narrates three hadiths from *Tafsīr al-Thaʿlabī*—two from Imam Bāqir and one from Ibn ʿAbbās (*al-Mīzān*, vol. 6, p. 56).

Shihāb al-Dīn Sayyid Maḥmūd Ālūsī Shāfiʿī Baghdādī says in his exegesis:

> The Shiʿa claim that
>
> مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ...
>
> *what has been revealed to you* means Ali's appointment as caliph. They narrate via their chains from Abū Jaʿfar and Abū ʿAbdillah that the Blessed and Exalted God revealed to His Messenger to appoint Ali as caliph, but God's Messenger feared that it would be unbearable for some of his companions, so to encourage him to do his duty the Exalted God revealed this verse.

It is related on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās, may God be pleased with him:

> This verse was revealed about Ali; the Blessed and Exalted God commanded His Messenger to let the people know about Ali's guardianship, but God's Messenger feared that [people] would say: "He has favored his own cousin," and criticize him for doing so. Thus, the Exalted God revealed this verse to him. He then undertook appointing him as guardian on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, took Ali's hand, and said:

ايها الناس الله مولاى وانا مولاكم افمن كنت مولاه فعلى مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه،

"O people! God is my Master and I am your master! Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master. O God! Be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy."

Suyūṭī, in *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, relates from Abū Ḥātim, Ibn Mardawayh, and Ibn ʿAsākir that Abū Saʿīd Khūdrī said: "This verse concerning Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib was revealed to God's Messenger on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm."

Ibn Mardawayh quotes Ibn Masʿūd as saying:

In God's Messenger time we recited this verse as

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ (ان عليا مولى المؤمنين) وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ.[73]

O Messenger, deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord (that Ali is the Master of the Faithful); *and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message* (5:67).

Shaykh al-Islam Ibrāhīm Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muʾayyad Ḥammūʾī narrates from his four teachers: Burhān al-Dīn Abū al-Wafāʾ with permission to narrate (*bi al-idhn fi al-riwāyah*); Ibrāhīm Ibn Omar; Majd al-Dīn ʿAbdullāh Ibn Maḥmūd Ibn Mawdūd Mawṣilī and Badr al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Asad Bukhārī with license to narrate (*bi al-ijāzah fi al-riwāyah*); and ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Badrān by reciting back to him (*bi al-qirāʾat ʿalayhi*), via their chain from Abū Hurayrah that God's Messenger said:

On the night when I was taken on a journey to Heaven, I heard a call from under the Throne:

إِنَّ عَلِيًّا رَايَةُ الْهُدَى، وَحَبِيبُ مَنْ يُؤْمِنُ بِي، بَلِّغْ عَلِيًّا (ذَلِكَ). فَلَمَّا نَزَلَ النَّبِيُّ أَنْسِيَ ذَلِكَ، فَأَنْزَلَ اللهُ جَلَّ وعلا عليه: يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ اللهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ.

Verily Ali is the banner of guidance and the beloved of whoever believes in Me; deliver [that] to Ali.

However, when the Prophet descended, he was made to forget that, so Exalted and Transcendent God revealed to him:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ[74]

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message, and God will protect you from the people; surely God will not guide the unbelieving people (5:67).

Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ṣabbāgh Mālikī says: Imam Abū al-Hasan Wāḥidī writes in his book *Asbāb al-Nuzūl* via a chain back to Abū Saʿīd Khūdrī that this verse

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ

was revealed about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm.

Then he adds: "Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn Nawawī says: 'Ghadīr Khumm is a reed-bed (*ghayḍah*), where the reeds grow in foliage, about three miles away from Juḥfah. There is a well-known pond (*ghadīr*) named after the reed-bed (*ghayḍah/khumm*), hence Ghadīr Khumm.'"[75]

Muhammad Ibn Ṭalḥah Shāfiʿī says:

> Imam Abū al-Hasan Wāḥidī says in his book called *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*, via a chain back to Abū Saʿīd Khūdrī, that this verse
>
> يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ
>
> was revealed about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm.[76]

Abū al-Hasan Wāḥidī Nīsābūrī narrates via his chain from Aʿmash and Abū Jaḥḥaf, from ʿAṭiyyah, from Abū Saʿīd Khūdrī that the verse

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ

was revealed about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm.[77]

By way of exegesis of

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ

Shaykh Sulaymān Qundūzī Ḥanafī says that Thaʿlabī narrates from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, and from Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Bāqir, may God be pleased with both of them: "This verse was revealed about Ali [Ibn Abī Ṭālib]."

Ḥammūʾī also quotes Abū Hurayrah in *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*. Similarly, in *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*, Mālikī quotes Abū Saʿīd Khudrī as saying: "This verse was revealed about Ali at Ghadīr Khumm. Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn also relates the same."[78]

Sayyid Ali Ibn Shihāb Hamadānī says in the fifth *Mawaddah* of his book *Mawaddat al-Qurbā* that Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib said:

> I approached with God's Messenger on the Farewell Pilgrimage. Then when he was at Ghadīr Khumm, "Congregational prayer," was called out. Thereafter, God's Messenger sat under a tree, took Ali's hand, and asked:
>
> أَلَسْتُ أَوْلَى بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ؟!
>
> "Do I not have greater authority over the believers than they do over their own selves?"
>
> They answered: "Yes, you do, God's Messenger!"
>
> Then he said:
>
> مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ
>
> "Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master." He then asked:
>
> اللّٰهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ
>
> "O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy!" Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb then met [Ali] and said:
>
> هَنِيئاً لَكَ يَا ابْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ! أَصْبَحْتَ مَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ
>
> "Congratulations to you, son of Abī Ṭālib! You have become my master, and the master of every believer, male and female!"
>
> يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ [79]
>
> *O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord*...(5:67) was revealed about it.

Mīr Khwānd Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ibn Humām relates in *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* from *Kashf al-Ghummah*:

> When the nation's Intercessor reached Ghadīr Khumm, and it was realized that the people would disperse from his blessed caravan after crossing the place and go to their homelands, and the Pre-Eternal's Will dictated that he should apprise everyone of this matter, the verse was revealed
>
> يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord (5:67) pertaining to Ali's appointment as imam:

وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ.[80]

and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message, and God will protect you from people (5:67).

The Egyptian shaykh Muhammad Abduh, the head of al-Azhar University, says:

> Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Ibn Mardawayh, and Ibn ʿAsākir quote Abū Saʿīd Khudrī as saying that
>
> يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ
>
> was revealed about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm.

All this is just a brief summary of the background to the verse's revelation according to authentic Shiʿa and Sunni sources. ʿAllāmah Amīnī confines himself to Sunni sources, addressing the background to the revelation, citing thirty reliable sources written by Sunni shaykhs and hadith memorizers.[81]

Discussion on What the Delivery Verse Means

We shall now discuss what the delivery verse means and how it is linked to the guardianship. Explanation of what the verse means is known as *fiqh al-āyah* (understanding the verse) and is as follows:

One: It addresses the Prophet as

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ

"O Messenger..." i.e. envoy and deliverer of a message, hence addressing him as a "message-bearer." Nowhere else in the Holy Qur'an is he addressed as such, apart from this verse and 5:41:

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ لَا يَحْزُنْكَ الَّذِينَ يُسَارِعُونَ فِي الْكُفْرِ مِنَ الَّذِينَ قَالُوا آمَنَّا بِأَفْوَاهِهِمْ وَلَمْ تُؤْمِنْ قُلُوبُهُمْ

O Messenger! Let not those grieve you who strive together in hastening to unbelief from among those who say with their mouths: We believe, and their hearts do not believe (5:41).

However, he is addressed as

يا ايها النبي

"O Prophet" thirteen times in the Holy Qur'an, in the sense of someone endowed with prophecy and given knowledge of the unseen. *Naba'* and *inbā'* just refer to his being made aware of the Unseen World and receiving revelation via Gabriel.

As the command to deliver, in 5:67, is a command to communicate a law revealed by God, it is appropriate for the Prophet to be addressed as Messenger to match the task he has been given—to deliver the message, no matter how difficult it may be.

Two:

بَلِّغْ

is the imperative of

تبليغ

meaning delivering and passing on the ruling, and presenting the evidence. It is quite different from the words

قُلْ واقْرَءْ واتْلُ واذْكُرْ وذَكِّرْ

"say, read or recite, mention or remind." As 33:38–39 says:

مَاكَانَ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ مِنْ حَرَجٍ فِيمَافَرَضَ اللهُ لَهُ سُنَّةَ اللهِ فِي الَّذِينَ خَلَوْامِنْ قَبْلُ وَكَانَ أَمْرُ اللهِ قَدَرًا
مَقْدُورًا ( ) الَّذِينَ يُبَلِّغُونَ رِسَالَاتِ اللهِ وَيَخْشَوْنَهُ وَلَا يَخْشَوْنَ أَحَدًا إِلَّا اللهَ وَكَفَى بِاللهِ حَسِيبًا.

There is no harm in the Prophet doing that which God has ordained for him; such has been the course of God with respect to those who have gone before; and the command of God is a decree that is made absolute: Those who deliver the messages of God and fear Him, and do not fear any one but God; and God is sufficient to take account (33:38–39).

Thus, according to the Holy Qur'an, the Messenger's job is to deliver; as 5:99 says:

مَاعَلَى الرَّسُولِ إِلَّا الْبَلَاغ

Nothing is incumbent on the Messenger but to deliver (5:99).

Three: The phrase

مَاأُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ

what has been revealed to you does not specify what that thing is, but the adjectival

مَاأُنزِلَ

does indicate its importance; because it is sent from God, the Prophet has no right to delay it. We also see that he is justified in proclaiming it to the people.

Four: The qualification

مِنْ رَبِّكَ

from your Lord, means God is Compassionate with you. He is Generous, and is your Creator, Regulator, and Guide. Everything of yours is under His control! He has sent this to you, so how can you delay or hesitate in publicizing it?

Five:

وَإِنْ لَّمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ

and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message, or according to one reading:

فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَاتِهِ

then you have not delivered His messages, indicates its importance and shows just how much it has been emphasized because if he fails to perform just this one thing, it will be as if he has not performed any of his duties!

This clause feels like a threat, giving a sense of the importance of this ruling: If it does not reach the people and is not given due attention, it will be as if none of God's laws have been passed on to the people by the Messenger, and as if no part of the religion has been put in its proper place.

We have to realize that this clause is conditional, but not like any ordinary conditional, because normally fulfilment of the condition is unknown and the apodosis is dependent on fulfilment of the condition. Here, however, the Prophet's status is too high, noble, and sublime for God to consider it possible that he will deliver and possible that he will not deliver. As God Himself says:

اللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ حَيْثُ يَجْعَلُ رِسَالَتَهُ

God best knows where He places His message (6:124).

Thus, we understand that even though this conditional clause appears to be a threat, it is actually a warning to everyone else but God's Messenger of its importance and the Prophet's justification in publicizing it.

Six:

وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ

and God will protect you from the people; surely God will not guide the unbelieving people (5:67).

The first part means that the noblest Prophet was anxious and afraid to deliver the ruling to the people. The second part is like an explanation, because God will subjugate all opposition groups and

parties and not let them challenge the Messenger over this, and damage the religion—He will not allow them to. In short, they cannot succeed in contesting the Messenger's authority in this matter.

Here, first of all we see that the protection referred to in the verse is unrestricted. Furthermore the nature of the affronts by the people, but from which God will provide protection, is not specified, be they physical harm—slaying, poisoning, or assassination—or defamation, vilification, cursing, insulting, lies about him or accusations, or opposition to him by other means such as bringing the prophecy into disrepute, and deviating its course through various tricks. By particularizing neither aspect, the verse generalizes—God will protect him from anything that will affect or harm the religion. What the verse definitely indicates is the birth of strife leading to the prophetic mission turning against the Prophet and the thwarting of his efforts to hoist the banner of Islam, raise the word of monotheism and justice, and make people serve the Lord of all the worlds.

In the verse, the word "people" (*al-nās*) is unqualified, so it includes believers, hypocrites, and the sick-hearted without distinction.

So the only time the people should be feared is if there is something to be feared from all of them; this is the impression given by the explanatory clause

إِنَّ اللهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ

Three:

الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ

the unbelieving people does not mean pagans, Jews, or Christians; rather, *kufr* is used in its general sense of hiding or covering up the truth, as in

وَمَنْ كَفَرَ فَإِنَّ اللهَ غَنِيٌّ عَنِ الْعَالَمِينَ

and whoever hides the truth (kafara), *then surely God is Self-sufficient, above any need of the worlds* (3:97) in the general sense of the word *kufr*. As we will see, *kufr* does not mean arrogantly rejecting the religion in its entirety, i.e. refusing to make the two declarations of faith; that kind of disbelief does not fit the context of the verse, unless we interpret

ما انزل اليك من ربك

what has been revealed to you from your Lord as all the religious laws and teachings without exception. We will see that that interpretation is not correct.

Four: God's not guiding them means His not guiding them in their scheming and plotting, such that they do not reach their goals or achieve their evil and mischievous dreams. He intervenes in worldly cause and effect. A similar example is

إِنَّ اللهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْفَاسِقِينَ

Surely God does not guide the transgressing people (63:6).

It is wrong to interpret *God will not guide* as not guiding them to belief; that would defeat the whole purpose of prophetic invitation and proselytization. It would make no sense for God to say: "Prophet, invite the unbelievers to Islam and God's law, but I will not guide them, or show them the path to belief until the evidence is complete."

Moreover, we see with our own eyes that God still guides unbelievers, and they embrace Islam in wave after wave. God has promised to guide them; as He says:

وَاللهُ يَهْدِي مَنْ يَشَاءُ إِلَى صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ

...and God guides whom He pleases to the straight path (2:213).

It is clear from the above that not guiding the unbelievers means that God does not leave them alone to carry out their intentions or allow them to extinguish His light. Rather, He deprives them of the worldly means to do what they desire. Unbelievers, the corrupt, and aggressors always try to distort the religion and wipe out the truth, but God blocks the ways to achieve their goals. The cause and effect to achieve corruption is in God's Hands; God can never be defeated via cause and effect, which He has created Himself!

These kinds of people may seem to succeed in their efforts, and may enjoy their success for a short time; they may become ambitious, extravagant, and aggressive for a while, but their haughtiness will soon be their downfall. As God says:

وَلَا يَحِيقُ الْمَكْرُ السَّيِّئُ إِلَّا بِأَهْلِهِ

and the evil scheming shall not beset any save the authors of it (35:43).

كَذَلِكَ يَضْرِبُ اللهُ الْحَقَّ وَالْبَاطِلَ فَأَمَّا الزَّبَدُ فَيَذْهَبُ جُفَاءً وَأَمَّا مَا يَنْفَعُ النَّاسَ فَيَمْكُثُ فِي الْأَرْضِ كَذَلِكَ يَضْرِبُ اللهُ الْأَمْثَالَ

thus does God compare truth and falsehood; then as for the scum, it passes away as a worthless thing; and as for that which profits the people, it tarries in the earth; thus does God set forth parables (13:17).

In summary,

إِنَّ اللهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ

surely God will not guide the unbelieving people explains

وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ

and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message. The protection means protection of God's Messenger from any harm that may befall him, preventing him from achieving his goal of hoisting the banner of praise and monotheism, through their accusing him of worldliness or killing him before his prophetic mission bears fruit.

However, if we take the verse's generalization literally, and interpret it as saying that God would protect His Messenger from all harm, then it contradicts other verses of the Qur'an, indubitable traditions, and history. The Messenger suffered so much hardship at the hands of the unbelievers, hypocrites, and even the believers among his nation that no one but he, the greatest, could tolerate it! As a famous prophetic hadith says:

ما اوذی نبی مثل ما اوذیت قط

"Never has a prophet been hurt as I have been hurt!"

What we have set out shows how important this verse is; it may even be the most important verse in the Holy Qur'an. It is verse 67 of *Sūrat al-Mā'idah* ("The Spread"); this was the last Medinan chapter revealed to the Prophet. All or most of it was revealed on the Farewell Pilgrimage, and all exegetes agree that it is Medinan, in the sense of a chapter revealed after the Prophet's migration—regardless of whether he was away from Medina at the time.

However, both the verse preceding and the one following this verse are about the People of the Book; the preceding verse says:

وَلَوْ أَنَّهُمْ أَقَامُوا التَّوْرَاةَ وَالْإِنْجِيلَ وَمَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْهِمْ مِنْ رَبِّهِمْ لَأَكَلُوا مِنْ فَوْقِهِمْ وَمِنْ تَحْتِ أَرْجُلِهِمْ
مِنْهُمْ أُمَّةٌ مُقْتَصِدَةٌ وَكَثِيرٌ مِنْهُمْ سَاءَ مَا يَعْمَلُونَ.

And if they had kept up the Torah and the Gospel and that which was revealed to them from their Lord, they would certainly have eaten from above them and from beneath their feet. There is a party of them keeping to the moderate course, and (as for) most of them, evil is that which they do (5:66).

Verse 5:68 says:

قُلْ يَا أَهْلَ الْكِتَابِ لَسْتُمْ عَلَى شَيْءٍ حَتَّى تُقِيمُوا التَّوْرَاةَ وَالْإِنْجِيلَ وَمَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكُمْ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ.
وَلَيَزِيدَنَّ كَثِيرًا مِنْهُمْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ طُغْيَانًا وَكُفْرًا فَلَا تَأْسَ عَلَى الْقَوْمِ الْكَافِرِينَ.

Say: O followers of the Book! you follow no good till you keep up the Torah and the Gospel and that which is revealed to you from your Lord; and surely that which has been revealed to you from your Lord shall make many of them

increase in inordinacy and unbelief; grieve not therefore for the unbelieving people (5:68).

It is very surprising that the verse under discussion (5:67) should come between these two because there is no link between it and them—5:66 and 5:68. It cannot really be said that 5:67 is about the People of the Book to explain why it comes between the other two verses!

First, the general teachings and proselytization in the verses about the People of the Book do not warrant the severity of tone in 5:67!

Secondly, *Sūrat al-Mā'idah* was revealed at the end of the Messenger's life in Medina. At that time, the foundation of Islam was quite strong, and all the opponents—the unbelievers, Jews, and Christians—had been defeated. They had no power, so there was no need to deliver any law that the Prophet would be afraid to deliver or for God to promise him protection.

We see that shortly after the Prophet moved to Medina, the People of the Book, especially the Jews, showed their enmity and hatred and helped the pagans from the Quraysh in the battles. They formed confederacies that led to incidents with the Banū Qurayẓah, the Banū al-Naḍīr, the Banū Qaynuqā', and finally the Jews of Khaybar and Fadak—in any case, they were all subjugated. Furthermore, the verse does not include any harsh ruling against the Jews. Elsewhere in the Holy Qur'an there are harsher rulings against them, but the Prophet is never spoken to in this way, even when tasked with far more onerous matters—such as the propagation of monotheism and the abolition of idol-worship among the pagan Arabs and Quraysh. They were even more stubborn than the Jews. However, God did not threaten His Messenger over propagating them in the other verses as He did in this one, and He did not guarantee him protection. Most of the verses in chapter 5 (*Sūrat al-Mā'idah*) are about the People of the Book, and 5:59 was definitely revealed as part of this chapter, even though at this time the Jews had been subdued, and God was angry with them. As He says:

كُلَّمَا أَوْقَدُوا نَارًا لِّلْحَرْبِ أَطْفَأَهَا اللَّهُ

whenever they kindle a fire for war God puts it out (5:64), so what need is there for 5:67 to be revealed, in this tone, about them and the Christians? At that time, almost all of them had embraced Islam, and the Jews and Christians of Najrān, who had been the harshest opponents, had agreed to pay the poll-tax (*jizyah*)—so, what does God's threat mean?!

Thus, what Fakhr Rāzī and other Sunni exegetes who follow him, such as Muhammad Abduh in *al-Manār*,[82] say—that because the style of this verse resembles that of those surrounding it, it has to be about the People of the Book—is wholly incorrect. In addition to the above, context cannot contradict incontrovertible evidence, or hadiths and narrations from Sunni scholars and elders, as recorded in their books and narrated on the authority of the greatest companions and successors. How can we give up on incontrovertible evidence and rational proof just because of the context, when the latter is no more than vague apparentness?

This is why when many Sunni opponents to the Prophet's Household's authority find themselves in difficulty, they say that 5:67 was revealed at the beginning of the prophetic mission in Mecca, about the pagans from the Quraysh; it means, [O Messenger] do not stop propagating! And be not negligent in delivering the verses to the unbelievers from the Quraysh; otherwise, you will not have fulfilled your duty! God will protect you from the unbelievers' sedition. Thus, this Meccan verse appears in a Medinan chapter—*Sūrat al-Mā'idah* ("The Spread").

This statement is also far from the truth because the early verses are gentle and not threatening or harsh—for example

اقْرَأْ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ...

Read in the name of your Lord Who created...(Chapter 96). And also

يَا أَيُّهَا الْمُدَّثِّرُ، قُمْ فَأَنْذِرْ، وَرَبَّكَ فَكَبِّرْ...

O you who have wrapped up in your garments! Rise to pray in the night except a little! Half of it or lessen it a little (73:1–3) and so on up to the end of the chapter, and

فَاسْتَقِيمُوا إِلَيْهِ وَاسْتَغْفِرُوهُ وَوَيْلٌ لِلْمُشْرِكِينَ

therefore follow the right way to Him and ask His forgiveness; and woe to the polytheists (41:6).

The Prophet's Fear Was Not for Himself

And apart from that, the Prophet never let fear of anyone stand in the way of his obeying God and propagating His laws. The Messenger's status and position were too high not to give his life for the divine cause! These exegetes' opinion is refuted by the noble Messenger's struggles and conduct throughout his life.

Above all, what God tells us about all the messengers disproves any claim that they are afraid of anyone. As He says:

مَا كَانَ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ مِنْ حَرَجٍ فِيمَا فَرَضَ اللَّهُ لَهُ سُنَّةَ اللَّهِ فِي الَّذِينَ خَلَوْا مِنْ قَبْلُ وَكَانَ أَمْرُ اللَّهِ قَدَرًا مَقْدُورًا ـ الَّذِينَ يُبَلِّغُونَ رِسَالَاتِ اللَّهِ وَيَخْشَوْنَهُ وَلَا يَخْشَوْنَ أَحَدًا إِلَّا اللَّهَ وَكَفَى بِاللَّهِ حَسِيبًا

There is no harm in the Prophet doing that which God has ordained for him; such has been the course of God with respect to those who have gone before; and the command of God is a decree that is made absolute: Those who deliver the messages of God and fear Him, and do not fear any one but God; and God is sufficient to take account (33:38–39).

We have to realize that neither the noblest Prophet nor any other prophet would panic and fail to complete his mission or propagate God's commands—they feared God alone. Their lofty position, connection to the Unseen World, and direct contact with non-corporeal beings, favored angels, and the divine Essence and Attributes would not allow them to be preoccupied with their material bodies or beings!

The apparent meaning of this verse is that the Prophet is physically incapable of fear or anguish; God's tradition was the same with previous prophets—they did not know fear or anguish either. What prophethood requires is courage and resoluteness, that is, their love for and attraction to the Divine draws them in such a way that they only see Him. They see nothing, apart from Him, to be afraid of; thus, they do not care about losing their lives. They have nothing but God:

يخشونه ولا يخشون احداً الا الله

and fear Him, and do not fear anyone but God (33:39)!

God warns the believers about Satan and his friends; God says:

إِنَّمَا ذَٰلِكُمُ الشَّيْطَانُ يُخَوِّفُ أَوْلِيَاءَهُ فَلَا تَخَافُوهُمْ وَخَافُونِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ مُؤْمِنِينَ

It is only Satan that causes you to fear from his friends, but do not fear them, and fear Me if you are believers (3:175).

God praises believers whom people tried to intimidate but who feared not. As God says:

الَّذِينَ قَالَ لَهُمُ النَّاسُ إِنَّ النَّاسَ قَدْ جَمَعُوا لَكُمْ فَاخْشَوْهُمْ فَزَادَهُمْ إِيمَانًا وَقَالُوا حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ وَنِعْمَ الْوَكِيلُ

Those to whom the people said: Surely men have gathered against you, therefore fear them, but this increased their faith, and they said: God is sufficient for us and most excellent is the Protector (3:173).

It is also not correct to say that the Messenger was frightened that if he was killed his proselytization would be in vain and that this was the reason for his delay in delivering

مَاانزِل

what has been revealed; as God had told him:

لَيسَ لَكَ مِنَ الأَمرِ شَيءٌ

You have no concern in the affair (3:128).

God is not incapable of bringing Islam to life and guiding people towards monotheism by another means even if the Messenger is killed.

The only correct interpretation of the Messenger's fear, to which God's response is

وَاللهُ يَعصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاس

and God will protect you from the people, is that God's Messenger was afraid he would be accused of something that would thwart the prophetic mission; then, when he was gone, it would be beyond repair. For example, they might say: This is not prophethood; it is worldly government, material chieftainship, and ruling people in the guise of prophethood. It is a worthless and void affair, as proven by his attempt to pass it on to his heir, like a secular ruler, now that he is about to die! Because he does not have a son, he is going to appoint his son-in-law as successor!

If this kind of accusation had worked, the Messenger's proselytization would have been in vain.

Yes, it is permissible to predicate this of the Prophet and think of him this way. He was allowed to take this step without fear.

The Delivery Verse Was Not Revealed at the Beginning of the Prophetic mission

Thus it is clear to us that what some exegetes say, that 5:67 was revealed at the beginning of the Mission, is not correct, because that would mean having to interpret God's promise of protection as a response to the Messenger's tarrying in delivering the message for fear of his being killed, and the banner of proselytization's being forever downed! This interpretation of God's Messenger's actions is wholly incorrect, so the verse cannot have been revealed at the beginning of the Mission.

Furthermore, if the verse had been revealed at the beginning of the Mission, then

مَاانزِلَ إِلَيكَ مِن رَبِّك

what has been revealed to you from your Lord would have to mean the basics of the religion or a smattering of laws and teachings. There was

no single matter the non-delivery of which equated a complete failure to deliver the entire message. Otherwise:

وَإِنْ لَّمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ

and if you do not, then you have not delivered His message would have to mean "O Messenger! Deliver the religion. If you do not do so, then you will not have delivered the religion," which is nonsense!

Fakhr Rāzī's response to this objection is to refer to a precedent in the poetry of Abū al-Najm:

أَنَا أَبُو النَّجْمِ وَشِعْرِي شِعْرِي

"I am Abū al-Najm, and my poetry is my poetry!" meaning my poetry has reached such perfection and eloquence that if something is said to be my poetry, no further praise can be lavished on it than that.

The same applies to "If you do not deliver His message, then you will not have delivered His message." There is no greater threat than to warn him about failure to deliver the message. It was to draw his attention to the extent of the threat and warning.[83]

This statement by Imam Rāzī is wrong because predication is only correct where there is a distinction between the subject and the predicate: for example between general and particular, or unqualified and qualified. Thus, Abū al-Najm's poem means that his poetry is still the same poetry. No one should think that his poetic talent has dried up, or become stale or dull! Life has not exhausted him or taken away his creativity; his new poems are just as innovative as his old ones.

However, 5:67 cannot be explained the same way, because supposing that the verse was revealed at the beginning of the Mission, the Prophet's message—all the religion or all the laws—was a single thing unassailable by change or distortion; so it could not be said: If you do not deliver the Message you will not have delivered the Message at all; this is because the assumption is that God's Messenger's Message is the entire message, i.e. all the religious instructions.

Thus, this verse cannot have been revealed at the beginning of the Mission and

مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ

cannot mean all the religion or all the religious laws and commandments. For the same reason, this verse cannot have been revealed at any other time in the Prophet's life if

مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ

means the entire religion or all the religious laws and commandments. The same problem arises, namely that of tautology: If you do not deliver all the religion or all its laws, then you will not have delivered all the religion or all its laws! Apart from that, there is still a problem with the Messenger's fearing for his life, even if the verse was revealed at the beginning of the Mission.

It is clear from the above that in this verse, the Prophet's duty to deliver cannot refer to the entire religion or all its laws and commands. It has to mean some of the religion. However, if

فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ

then you have not delivered His message is also interpreted as part of the religion, we face the same problem. There is no alternative to interpreting *message* as the whole religion; the meaning thus rendered is: If you do not deliver this specific ruling that has been revealed to you, then you have not delivered any of the religion or any of its laws! This is correct and acceptable, and is like Abū al-Najm's poem: "My poetry is my poetry."

That Which Must Be Delivered Must Be Something Extremely Important

Some people say: The religious laws are all interlinked, such that a flaw in one of them would mean a flaw in all of them because of the incompositeness and interlinkedness of prophecy, especially as regards its delivery; that is why it is correct to say: If you do not deliver this ruling, then you have not delivered the whole message.[84]

This is true, but it does not fit with the end of the verse because

وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ

and God will protect you from the people; surely God will not guide the unbelieving people means that a group of unbelievers were about to oppose the revealed ruling, or it was expected that they would strongly oppose this ruling, and use any means possible to stop its being circulated. Hence, God promises to protect His Messenger against their scheming, and thwart their plot.

The meaning of the end of this verse does not fit any conceivable ruling at the beginning of the verse. The laws and commandments of Islam are not all of the same level of importance—for example, daily prayer, which is the pillar of the religion, in contrast to reciting a certain supplication when the moon is sighted at the beginning of a lunar month. Some offences are serious, such as adultery, whereas

some are not as serious, such as looking at a woman who is not a close family member in the face. A breach of any of these, inasmuch as it is a breach of one of all the interlinked commandments, constitutes a breach of the religion; however, God's Messenger's fear and God's promise of protection during delivery are disproportionate to any of these and similar commandments. Therefore, the ruling has to be important enough that if neglected, the whole religion would be neglected. It is as if this commandment is the soul in the body of the *sharīʿah* that animates it and keeps it alive, giving it sense and motion. We can infer from this verse that God gave His Messenger a command that perfects the religion and by which the *sharīʿah* is completed, because it reaches the level expected of it, and by which the ark of salvation is anchored in position.

So it was to be expected that some people might oppose it, and try to turn the prophecy against the Prophet, and in so doing, seek to detract from Islam and destroy the pillars of Islam that the Prophet had built with his own hands. The Messenger knew this full well, and was aware of his nation's evil intentions, and so he was afraid that they would cause a problem. That is why he delayed in delivering the commandment that was the very spirit of the religion. Time and again he delayed in announcing it, so as to find the right time to deliver God's command, so that his efforts would not be blown away in the wind.

Here, God orders that the command be delivered at once and explains its importance to the Messenger. He encourages the Messenger and promises to protect him against his enemies' plots. He says that He will not let them achieve their evil goals, and not let them damage the prophecy.

The Delivery Verse Has to Have Been Revealed after Islam Had Spread

The Prophet's fear that the unbelievers might oppose his propagation and ruin the foundation of Islam had to have been at the end of his mission, years after his move to Medina, because there was no such fear of the unbelievers before his move.

The Holy Qurʾan sets out what the unbelievers said and their ill intent:

مُعَلَّمٌ مَّجْنُونٌ

One taught (by others), a madman (44:14),

إِنْ تَتَّبِعُونَ إِلَّا رَجُلًا مَّسْحُورًا

You follow none other than a man bewitched (17:47),

أَسَاطِيرُ الْأَوَّلِينَ اكْتَتَبَهَا فَهِيَ تُمْلَىٰ عَلَيْهِ بُكْرَةً وَأَصِيلًا

The stories of the ancients—he has got them written—so these are read out to him morning and evening (25:5),

أَنِ امْشُوا وَاصْبِرُوا عَلَىٰ آلِهَتِكُمْ إِنَّ هَٰذَا لَشَيْءٌ يُرَادُ

Go and steadily adhere to your gods; this is most surely a thing sought after (38:6).

These words are too insignificant to damage the basis of the religion; they just show that the Prophet's people (the Quraysh) were inconsistent!

Furthermore, this kind of accusation was nothing new for the Messenger and hence nothing to be anxious about or afraid of. Previous messengers, just like our Messenger, faced difficulties when performing their task of propagating their religions; their nations also hurt them in many different ways. The Holy Qur'an tells us what problems Noah and the other messengers after him faced.

However, after the Prophet had migrated, and Islam had become stable, [the need to publicly announce his successor] was conceivable because at that time, there were different people with different ideas living among the Muslims: There were believers, hypocrites, those who were spying for the unbelievers, and those who had ill intentions towards the Messenger and Islam.

The Prophet Feared Being Accused of Serving His Own Interests

Even though they all believed in the noble Messenger, many of them thought of him as a king or chief running the government, and considered God's Book to be secular law.

This mindset paved the way for people to conspire against the *sharī'ah* such that if the Messenger implemented a law, it would look like personal gain. They would say: This is a tyrannical monarchy dressed up as prophecy and presented to the people as a message!

If their false claim spread and gained currency, such irreparable damage would be done to the newly founded religion that it would ruin it forever. Then, nothing could repair it.

They had previously seized other opportunities to claim, falsely, that the Prophet was serving his own interests and not following divine revelation, for example when he married his foster-son Zayd Ibn Ḥārithah's ex-wife, [the Prophet's] cousin Zaynab, took exclusive possession of booty, practiced polygamy [with nine], and so on.

The reason was that the permissibility of marrying his foster-son's ex-wife was not exclusive to God's Messenger. He was the first to implement the law to pave the way for all other Muslims.

If being married to more than four women at the same time was just greedy and without God's permission, he would not have stopped the Muslims from doing the same. This is because it was his nature to put other Muslims and their interests first where property of his and God's was concerned, which leaves no doubt that his actions were by God's command, not for his personal benefit.

Thus, it is abundantly clear from the above that 5:67 means that the revealed commandment was one over which God's Messenger could be accused of acting out of personal gain, and to take exclusive possession of certain revenues and concessions that others desired; to announce it would deprive other people. The Prophet was afraid to make the announcement, and so God commanded him to do so, promising him protection from his opponents, and that their plots would be unsuccessful.

It is clear from the above reasoning along with copious hadiths narrated by both the Shi'a and Sunnis that 5:67 was revealed about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's appointment as guardian. God commanded the Messenger to make the announcement, but he was afraid that they would accuse him of nepotism, so he delayed it, waiting for the right time—at Ghadīr Khumm; he took Ali's hand under the shade of the gum-acacia trees, both of them atop the pile of saddlebags, and, facing the huge crowd of the pilgrims traveling with him, within a lengthy sermon he made the announcement:

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ

"Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master!" Obviously and indubitably the leadership of the nation is too necessary and important to be kept secret.

Both reason and instinct tell us that if any responsible person goes away, he does not leave his affairs in disarray; he finds the right competent person to take his place. Before a scholar dies, he entrusts his students to a knowledgeable teacher. Similarly, before he dies, a doctor chooses a locum to run his clinic. It is the same with all other occupations: If a merchant, businessman, farmer, or even a bath attendant dies or is temporarily absent, he certainly finds someone to look after his business. Even when a beetroot seller briefly leaves his beetroot pot to go and pray, he asks a nearby shop-keeper to look after his pot and scale until he returns. If they fail to do so and there is a mishap, people will criticize them, saying: "It is ridiculous! Has he gone mad? Why did that bath attendant act so irresponsibly? He

left the door to the public baths open, and went away without asking anyone to look after his bath! How strange, has that merchant lost his mind? Why did he not ask anyone to look after his firm before going away?"

This is so clear that anyone with any sense will say: "It is as clear as crystal and needs no proof!" In matters such as these, precaution is indispensable.

Therefore, how can anyone dare assume or imagine that a religion such as Islam, intended to suffice the entire world until the Day of Resurrection and that fulfils all human needs—from the most basic ones pertaining to purification up to the most complex monotheistic and theological matters, ethical issues, and legal rulings for both the individual and society could be left on its own without any guardian to look after it?! How can anyone think that a Messenger as wise as Muhammad would pass away without entrusting the religion to someone competent? He would not leave the nation like lost sheep, easy prey for hungry wolves, without an imam and guardian to protect them!

Does the religion of Islam differ from other laws and rules by not having a protector or guardian? Are Islamic society and the Islamic nation different from all other societies and nations? Do they not need a director and supervisor to direct them and put their affairs in order? Are they not in need of someone to help them steer the wheel of their lives? A scholar who truly immerses himself in studying the noble Messenger's biography realizes that when he went into battle, he appointed someone to take his place, looking after governmental affairs in his absence so that nothing undesirable could happen. How can such a scholar be persuaded that the Prophet failed to appoint anyone to protect Islam after his death?!

When the Prophet went off to the Battle of Tabūk, he appointed Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as deputy. Ali protested to God's Messenger:

يَارَسُولَ اللهِ، أَتُخَلِّفُنِي عَلَى النِّسَاءِ وَالصِّبْيَانِ؟!

"God's Messenger, are you leaving me in charge of the women and children?"

He replied:

أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي؟[85]

"Are you not content to be to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me?"

The Prophet would appoint governors for metropolises that were in Muslim hands, such as Mecca, Ṭā'if, and Yemen; he would appoint commanders for the armies and units that he sent to various

fronts. So, what is the difference between his lifetime and after his death? Are people not in greater need of a guardian after the Prophet passes away?

Yes, they are, and because of this the Prophet appointed a guardian, and left the affairs of the nation in his hands; in that barren land, under the shade of five trees he announced to all people in the world that Ali was his successor, and he was the master of every believer, male and female; just like the Prophet, he had greater authority over them than they had over their own selves.

Various Sunni Opinions on the Background to the Revelation of the Delivery Verse

This is as much discussion about the background to the revelation of Verse 5:67 as time permits. We have learned from great Sunni scholars such as Ṭabarī, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abū Nuʿaym Iṣfahānī, Abū Isḥāq Thaʿlabī, Wāḥidī, Sijistānī, Naṭanzī, Rasʿanī, Ibn Mardawayh, Ibn ʿAsākir, Ḥaskānī, and so on, via various chains in their hadith compilations and exegetical works. The chains are from senior companions and others, such as Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib, Jābir Ibn ʿAbdillāh Anṣārī, ʿAmmār Ibn Yāsir, Abū Dharr Ghifārī, Salmān Fārisī, Ḥudhayfah al-Yamānī, Ibn ʿAbbās, Abū Saʿīd Khudrī, Zayd Ibn Arqam, Abū Hurayrah, Ibn Masʿūd, ʿĀmir Ibn Laylā Ibn Ḍamrah, and Imam Bāqir Muhammad Ibn Ali. Of the Sunni Imams, Tirmidhī, Nisāʾī, Ibn Mājah, and Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal record in their books that the verse was revealed about guardianship.

Some of their books contain very weak explanations of the background to the revelation of the verse because the authors have tried to strip the verse of its true meaning—guardianship. They cite hadiths with no chains, or broken chains of narration; as the late ʿAllāmah Amīnī says: They are nothing but exegesis based on their own opinion, or conjecture without proof, or making much of anything but the Guardianship Hadith to sap its strength and weaken belief in it, *but God insists on nothing but perfecting His light* (9:32) ويأبى الله الا ان يتم نوره.[86]

Fakhr Rāzī, whose fanaticism is obvious from what he says, offers ten explanations for why the verse was revealed:

1. This verse was revealed about stoning and retaliatory punishment as a response to Jewish practice (*madhhab*).
2. It is about the Jews finding fault with and mocking God's religion—Islam.
3. When 33:28–29 was revealed:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ قُلْ لِأَزْوَاجِكَ إِنْ كُنْتُنَّ تُرِدْنَ الْحَيَاةَ الدُّنْيَا وَزِينَتَهَا فَتَعَالَيْنَ أُمَتِّعْكُنَّ وَأُسَرِّحْكُنَّ سَرَاحًا جَمِيلًا ۔ وَإِنْ كُنْتُنَّ تُرِدْنَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَالدَّارَ الْآخِرَةَ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ أَعَدَّ لِلْمُحْسِنَاتِ مِنْكُنَّ أَجْرًا عَظِيمًا

O Prophet! say to your wives: If you desire this world's life and its adornment, then come, I will give you a provision and release you with a fair release and if you desire God and His Messenger and the latter abode, then surely God has prepared for the doers of good among you a mighty reward (33:28–29), the Messenger did not mention it to his wives, because he was worried that they would prefer the life of this world and he would have to divorce them.

4. It is about the story of Zayd Ibn Ḥārithah and his ex-wife Zaynab, God's Messenger's cousin.

5. It was revealed about *jihād*, because sometimes the Messenger delayed in sending the hypocrites to fight.

6. When *And do not abuse those whom they call upon besides God, lest exceeding the limits they should abuse God out of ignorance* (6:108) was revealed, the Messenger delayed in pointing out the faults of the dualists' idol worship, so 5:67 was revealed.

7. It was revealed on the Farewell Pilgrimage after the Prophet had explained the rites of the *ḥajj*, and asked:

هل بلغت

"Did I deliver?" They people replied: "Yes." Then the Messenger said:

اللّهم اشهد

"O God, bear witness."

8. When a Bedouin had in mind to murder him and he was sleeping under the shade of a tree, this verse was revealed.

9. He was afraid of the Jews and the Quraysh, so God allayed his fear by revealing this verse.

10. It was revealed about Ghadīr Khumm.[87]

Fakhr Rāzī cites all these explanations, making the Ghadīr number 10, and gives preponderance to number 9 without any scrutiny, passing over the matter hurriedly. This is in spite of the fact that he was a scholar and well aware of the chains of narration of the Ghadīr Hadith from numerous sources (*istifāḍah*). However, Niẓām al-Dīn Nīshābūrī, who is also a Sunni exegete, considers the Ghadīr to be the best explanation, quoting Ibn ʿAbbās, Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib, Abū Saʿīd Khudrī, and Imam Bāqir. He considers the other explanations to be weak because he introduces each of them with "it is said (*qīl*)."[88]

Ṭabarī, whose works are earlier than those of any of the scholars whose opinions are quoted by Fakhr Rāzī, does not arrive at any of those other explanations in his history book or exegesis; however, he did write an entire book about guardianship, in which he narrates the Ghadīr Hadith

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه

via seventy different chains of narration. In that book, he narrates via a chain from Zayd Ibn Arqam that the verse was revealed about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.

What Fakhr Rāzī and his followers cling to is that 5:67 comes between verses about the People of the Book in Chapter 5 ("The Spread"), so it is appropriate that it should also be about the People of the Book.

However, even someone with the least knowledge of Qur'anic stories knows that the Remembrance's verses do not appear in the order of revelation. The chapters are not arranged in the order in which they were revealed, either. The first chapters to be revealed were 96, "The Clot"; 73, "The Wrapped Up"; 74, "The Covered One"; 68, "The Pen"; and the other short Meccan chapters. The last chapters to be revealed were 5, "The Spread," and 110, "The Help." Many verses revealed in Mecca have been placed in Medinan chapters and vice versa.

Suyūṭī says in *al-Itqān*:

> The consensus is and *Ḥadīth* (*nuṣūṣ*) evidence proves that the order of the verses is just prescriptive, and we must recite the Qur'an in the way it has been arranged. There is no doubt about this! The consensus is recorded by scholars such as Zarkashī in *al-Burhān* and Abū Ja'far Ibn Zubayr in *al-Munāsabāt*. The latter says that the order of the verses within the chapters in the Qur'an was prescribed by the Prophet himself. No Muslim says any different. The *Ḥadīth* evidence he cites says that the Prophet would dictate to his companions whatever Qur'an had been revealed to him in the same order as the codices we have now, as prescribed and taught to him by Gabriel when he revealed each verse: This verse should be written after verse such-and-such in chapter such-and-such.[89]

We explained fully, above, that the Prophet would only have had anything to fear from the Jews and the Christians at the beginning of his mission, or shortly after his migration—but not so long after his migration when the Jews and Christians had been defeated, at which time Islam was a major, awe-inspiring power, and the Prophet was

writing letters to the world's governors and monarchs to invite them to Islam.

Therefore, it makes no sense for 5:67—part of "The Spread," which was the last chapter to be revealed to the Messenger—to have been revealed about the Jews and the Christians. In his exegesis, Qurṭubī says that *Sūrat al-Mā'idah* ("The Spread") is Medinan by consensus; he then relates from Ibn Naqqāsh that it was revealed in the year 6 AH (the year of the Treaty of Ḥudaybiyyah).[90] He follows this with a quote from Ibn ᶜArabī: "This is a fabricated hadith that Muslims are not permitted to believe in."[91] In the light of that, the mere position of the Delivery Verse (5:67) between other verses about the People of the Book will not affect rational demonstration or incontrovertible proof.

It is also clear from the above that what Qurṭubī cites is baseless, namely: It is related by Ibn ᶜAbbās that every day, Abū Ṭālib sent some Hāshimites to protect God's Messenger, until [this verse] was revealed:

وَاللهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاس

and God will protect you from the people. [He still wanted to send people to protect him,] but the Prophet said:

يَا عَمَّاهُ اِنَّ اللهَ عَصَمَنِي مِنَ الْجِنِّ وَالاِنْس

"O dear Uncle! God will protect me from men and *jinn*." Qurṭubī says: "The authenticity of this hadith means that the verse has to be Meccan; however, this verse is Medinan."[92]

And this hadith is too weak to challenge the above hadiths, consensus, and opinions of exegetes; furthermore, we can clearly see how many difficulties and what kinds of persecution the Prophet suffered at the hands of people like these!

Lessons Ninety-Eight to One Hundred One

Concerning the Chain of Transmission of
من کنت مولاہ فعلی مولاہ

"Whoever's Master I Am, So Too Is Ali His Master"

LESSONS NINETY-EIGHT TO ONE HUNDRED ONE

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

And blessing upon Muhammad and his pure Household, and God's curse on his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection! There is no power or strength except through the Lofty, Glorious God.

The Wise God says in His Glorious Book:

الْيَوْمَ يَئِسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ دِينِكُمْ فَلَا تَخْشَوْهُمْ وَاخْشَوْنِ الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا.

This day have those who disbelieve despaired of your religion, so fear them not, and fear Me. This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion (5:3).

This blessed verse was revealed to the noblest Prophet on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, just after he had delivered his beautiful sermon in which he proclaimed the Master of the Faithful to be everyone's absolute, divinely appointed master and presented him to the people as caliph.

In our previous discussions, we said that the Ghadīr sermon was delivered after the revelation of the verse

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ.

O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message and God will protect you from people; surely God will not guide the unbelieving people (5:67).

So the Prophet delivered that sermon, part of which was

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه

"Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master."

The verse

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ...

is known as the Delivery Verse (*Āyat al-Tablīgh*); and the hadith

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه

is known as the Guardianship Hadith (*Ḥadīth al-Wilāyah*); each discussion is separate from and unrelated to the other. It is possible that

a Sunni may doubt the background to the revelation of and the meaning of the Delivery Verse, but not doubt the chain of narration of or the meaning of the Guardianship Hadith. Praise be to God. With His assistance we have drawn a distinction between these two discussions, and explained the background to the revelation of the Delivery Verse about the Master of the Faithful, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and postponed the discussion of the Guardianship Hadith.

Now that we have finished discussing the Delivery Verse with God's help and grace, we hope to study this matter in a way commensurate with our miniscule effort, God willing; we will then go on to discuss the meaning of the verse revealed on the Day of the Ghadīr and cited at the beginning of our lesson.

A Poem by One of the Zaydī Imams

The following poem is by Abū Muhammad al-Manṣūr Billāh and is relevant to our discussion:

وهو الولى ايهذا السامع مؤتى الزكاة المرء وهو راكع
والشاهد التالى فاين الجامع للقوم؟ هل ثم دليل قاطع؟ 1
وهو ولى الحل والابرام والامر والنهى على الانام
بحكم ذى الجلال والاكرام وما قضاه فى اولى الارحام 2
وقال فيه المصطفى: انت الولى ومثله: انت الوزير والوصى
وكرر وكر قال له: انت اخى؟ فايهم قال له مثل على؟ 3
وهل سمعت بحديث مولى يوم «الغدير» والصحيح اولى
الم يقل فيه الرسول قولا لم يبق للمخالفين حولا؟ 4
وهل سمعت بحديث المنزلة يجعل هارون النبى مثله؟
وثبت الطهر له ما كان له من صنوه موسى فصار مدخله. 5
من حيث لو لم يذكر النبوة كانت له من بعد مرجوه
فاستثنيت ونال ذو الفتوه عموم ما للمصطفى من قوه. 6 [93]

1. He is the master, O listener, the giver of charity to the man while bowing.
And the witness who follows; so where is the uniter of the people? Is there incontrovertible proof?[94]

2. And he is the master of dissolution and conclusion [of pacts]; and of commanding and forbidding everybody
By the Majestic's and Glorious's Law and what He has decreed for blood relations.[95]

3. The Prophet said about him: "You are the master!" and similarly: "You are the aide and executor!"
And time and again, he told him: "You are my brother!" So, to which of them did he say, as to Ali?

4. Have you heard the Master or more correctly Greater Authority Hadith the Day of the Ghadīr?
Did the Messenger not say something that left the opponents powerless?

5. Have you heard the Status Hadith making him like the Prophet's Aaron?
And confirming he had purity. Moses did not have a twin like him. So his entry point became

6. Such that if he had not mentioned prophecy, it would have been his expectation after [Muhammad] died
But it was excepted and the hero attained all the power the Chosen One had.

Discussion on the Ghadīr Hadith, i.e. the Guardianship Hadith, will be in two parts: one, its chain of transmission, and two, its meaning. God willing, we will discuss both fully.

Proof throughout History That Imam Ali Was the Worthiest

With regard to the chain of transmission, i.e. in terms of the event's occurrence on the Day of Ghadīr—the 18th of the holy month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah—via the sermon that the Prophet delivered, it is an indisputable event in Islamic history, but also an undeniable event in *human* history. This event is considered to be undeniable. In fact, it is not only indisputable; it is more than that. It is of such a level that even if only a fifth or a tenth of the narrations had reached us, they would still have generated certainty. It is not surprising that the Shi'a keep writing books on this event, narrating it via their unbroken chains, on the authority of luminaries and imams of the religion. It is not surprising because it is evidence that speaks for itself and is the firm foundation of their school and way. It is what separates them from their opponents.

Surprisingly, however, their opponents have also written and narrated so many hadiths about the event that they have to concede

that it happened. They have written many separate books on the subject, more than on any other event in Islamic history.

It is obvious that they have, from the beginning of Islam up to the present day, strived their utmost to hide the truth and cover up the matter of guardianship. They have made a concerted effort not to cite the Guardianship Hadith, to misconstrue it, and to corrupt their predecessors' books and manipulate them when publishing them to such an extent that anyone who knows books, hadiths, chronicles, and prophetic practices would be astonished at what he sees.

The Sunnis have totally changed the meaning in their books, and openly say that they must cover up the facts, so that they are not a justification in the hands of the common people![96]

This discussion, which goes hand in hand with the effort to justify (*istiṣwāb*) all the companions' actions, is a lengthy one; so God willing, we will postpone it to an appropriate juncture.

However, the rightfulness of the Master of the Faithful, and the Leader of the Pious, and the Light of the Rays of Guardianship, is such that whichever book we refer to, we come face to face with the hadiths on guardianship, the virtues of that righteous leader and imam to the rightful people, and the hadiths on Ghadīr Khumm! That is, no matter how much the opponents have tried to hide the truth, or our coreligionists have dissimulatingly refrained from drawing attention to it, numerous books have still been written exclusively on this subject, both in the East and the West, or at least books that mention the event of Ghadīr Khumm. They are an everlasting proof of the Light of Guardianship among the pages of the books, in writers' chests, in lovers' hearts—they are right before the eyes of both friends and foes.

به هر طرف که نگه می‌کنم تو در نظری چرا که بهر تو جز دیدنت جایگاهی نیست

Wherever I look, I only see you, O Wise
That is: You deserve to settle in my eyes.

Sunni Scholars Who Have Written about the Ghadīr Hadith

The beauty for wayfarers and master of mystic contemplation, Ali Ibn Ṭāwūs—May God have mercy on him—says in *al-Iqbāl*, in a section describing briefly what opposition [Sunni] scholars say about the Day of Ghadīr:

> Know that the noblest Messenger's explicit appointment of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as imam on the Day of Ghadīr needs no revelation or explanation

> to people of knowledge, integrity, and understanding. We only draw attention to someone who narrates it so that whoever wishes can contemplate and ponder upon its meaning. One example is what is written by Abū Saʿīd Masʿūd Ibn Nāṣir Sijistānī, who is doctrinally opposed to the Household, but on whose integrity and on the authenticity of what he narrates on the authority of the Household people of knowledge agree. He wrote a seventeen-volume book called *Kitāb al-Dirāyah fi Ḥadīth al-Wilāyah*. He narrates in it a prophetic hadith on the virtues of our master Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib on the authority of 120 companions.

Another example is what Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī, the author of *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* (*The Great History*) relates. He calls his book *Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā al-Ḥurqūṣiyyah*. In it, he cites the Ghadīr Hadith, God's Messenger's explicit appointment of Ali as guardian, and [Ali's] great and elevated status. He narrates via seventy-five different chains of transmission.

A further example is what Abū al-Qāsim ʿUbaydullāh Ibn ʿAbdillāh Ḥaskānī narrates in his book *Kitāb Duʿāt al-Hudāt ilā Adāʾ Ḥaqq al-Muwālāt*.

Another example is *Ḥadīth al-Wilāyah* by Abū al-ʿAbbās Ahmad Ibn Saʿid Ibn ʿUqdah, peerless in his time, whose knowledge Khaṭīb praises and testifies to in *Tārīkh Baghdād* (*The History of Baghdad*).

I found a copy of this book scribed at the time of Abū al-ʿAbbās Ibn ʿUqdah. It is dated 330 AH. It is authentically narrated. It has Shaykh Ṭūsī's endorsement and that of a number of Islam's scholars on it. The authenticity of it is obvious to people with minds. In it is the noblest Messenger's explicit appointment of our master Ali as guardian via 105 different chains of transmission.

If I cited the names of all the Muslim writers on the subject in the book, it would be too prolix for whoever occupies himself with this book. All these works except Ṭabarī's are currently in our possession.[97] *Al-Iqbāl* also says:

> What Masʿūd Ibn Nāṣir Sijistānī relates describing the Prophet's explicit appointment of our master, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, as guardian is an entire volume, comprising more than twenty fascicles. What Muhammad Ibn Jarīr, the author of the chronicle, cites is also an entire volume. What Abū al-ʿAbbās Ibn ʿUqdah and other scholars relate [fills] several volumes.

Ibn Shahr Āshūb says: "The consensus of all scholars is to accept [the Guardianship Hadith]. They only disagree over the interpretation of it." This hadith is related via several routes by Muhammad Ibn Isḥāq, Ahmad Balādhurī, Muslim Ibn Ḥajjāj, Abū Nuʿaym

Iṣfahānī, Abū al-Hasan Dāraquṭnī, Abū Bakr Ibn Mardawayh, Ibn Shāhīn, Abū Bakr Bāqillānī, Abū al-Maʿālī Juwaynī, Abū Isḥāq Thaʿlabī, Abū Saʿīd Kharkūshī, Abū al-Muẓaffar Samʿānī, Abū Bakr Ibn Shaybah, Ali Ibn Jaʿd, Shuʿbah, Aʿmash, Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn al-Thallāj, Shaʿbī, Zuhrī, Aqlīshī, Ibn Mājah, Ibn al-Bayyiʿ, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, al-Kānī, and Abū Yaʿlā Mawṣilī; via forty routes by Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal; via twenty-three routes by Ibn Baṭṭah; via seventy odd routes by Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī in *al-Wilāyah;* via one hundred five different routes by Abū al-ʿAbbās Ibn ʿUqdah; and via one hundred twenty-five routes by Abū Bakr Jiʿānī.

The Prophet's Companions Who Relate the Ghadīr Hadith

Ali Ibn Hilāl Mahallabī wrote *al-Ghadīr*. Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Saʿd wrote *Man Rawā Ghadīr Khumm*. Masʿūd Shajarī wrote a book in which he lists the narrators of this hadith and its routes. Manṣūr Lānī Rāzī lists all the narrators of the hadith alphabetically. It is said that the author of *al-Kāfi* said:

> The story of Ghadīr Khumm has been told to us by Qāḍī Abū Bakr Jiʿānī on the authority of Abū Bakr, Omar, Othman, Ali, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, Hasan, Husayn, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Jaʿfar, ʿAbbās Ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, ʿAbdullāh Ibn ʿAbbās, Abū Dharr, Salmān, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Abū Qatādah, Zayd Ibn Arqam, Jarīr Ibn Ḥamīd, ʿAdī Ibn Ḥātim, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Anīs, Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib, Abū Ayyūb, Abū Barzah Aslamī, Sahl Ibn Ḥunayf, Samurah Ibn Jundub, Abū al-Haytham, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Thābit Anṣārī, Salamah Ibn Akwaʿ, Khudrī, ʿAqabah Ibn ʿĀmir, Abū Rāfiʿ, Kaʿb Ibn ʿUjrah, Ḥudhayfah Ibn al-Yamān, Abū Masʿūd Badrī, Ḥudhayfah Ibn Usayd, Zayd Ibn Thābit, Saʿd Ibn ʿUbādah, Khuzaymah Ibn Thābit, Khabbāb Ibn ʿUtbah, Jundub Ibn Sufyān, Omar Ibn Abī Salamah, Qays Ibn Saʿd, ʿUbādah Ibn Ṣāmit, Abū Zaynab, Abū Laylā, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Rabīʿah, Usāmah Ibn Zayd, Saʿd Ibn Junādah, Khabbāb Ibn Samurah, Yaʿlā Ibn Murrah, Ibn Qudāmah Anṣārī, Nājiyah Ibn ʿUmayrah, Abū Kāhil, Khālid Ibn Walīd, Ḥassān Ibn Thābit, Nuʿmān Ibn ʿAjlān, Abū Rifāʿah, ʿAmr Ibn Ḥamiq, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Yaʿmur, Mālik Ibn Ḥuwayrith, Abū Ḥamrāʾ, Ḍamrah Ibn Ḥabīb, Waḥshī Ibn Ḥarb, ʿUrwah Ibn Abī Jaʿd, ʿĀmir Ibn Numayrī,[98] Bashīr Ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir, Rifāʿat Ibn ʿAbd al-Mundhir, Thābit Ibn Wadīʿah, ʿAmr Ibn Ḥurayth, Qays Ibn ʿĀṣim, ʿAbd al-Aʿlā Ibn ʿAdī, Othman Ibn Ḥunayf, and Ubayy Ibn Kaʿb. The women include Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʾ, Ayishe, Umm Salamah, Umm Hānī, and Fāṭimah Bint Ḥamzah Ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[99]

The eminent scholar Mīr Ḥāmid Husayn Hindī Nīsābūrī says in *ʿAbaqāt al-Anwār fī Ithbāt Imāmat al-Aʾimmat al-Aṭhār*, the volume on

the Ghadīr, after quoting, as did we above, Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs's account of Ibn ʿUqdah's having written a many-volume book on Ghadīr Khumm, his routes therein reaching 105, that Ibn Ṭāwūs had this book. He refers to it in *al-Ṭarāʾif fī Maʿrifat Madhāhib al-Ṭawāʾif* in which he names all the companions from whom Ibn ʿUqdah relates the Ghadīr Hadith.

He then names the companions to whom Ibn ʿUqdah attributes (*asnada*) the hadith. Those companions, in addition to those listed above on the authority of Ibn Shahr Āshūb's *Manāqib*, are the following: Saʿīd Ibn Mālik, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Masʿūd, ʿAmmār Ibn Yāsir, Asʿad Ibn Zurārah Anṣārī, Khālid Ibn Zayd Anṣārī, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Rifāʿah Ibn Rāfiʿ Anṣārī, Sahl Ibn Saʿd Anṣārī, Hāshim Ibn ʿUtbah Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, Miqdād Ibn ʿAmr Kindī, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Usayd Makhzūmī, ʿImrān Ibn Ḥuṣayn Khuzāʿī, Buraydah Ibn Jabalah Ibn ʿAmr Anṣārī, Anas Ibn Mālik, Saʿīd Ibn Saʿd Ibn ʿUbādah, Abū Sarīḥah Ghifārī, Zayd Ibn Ḥārithah, Jābir Ibn Samurah Suwāʾī, Ḥubshī Ibn Junādah Salūlī, Ḍumayrah Asadī, ʿUbayd Ibn ʿĀzib Anṣārī, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Abī Awfā Aslamī, Zayd Ibn Sharāḥīl Anṣārī, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Bishr Māzinī, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Nuʿaym Daylamī, Abū Fuḍālah Anṣārī, ʿAṭiyyah Ibn Bishr Māzinī, ʿĀmir Ibn Laylā Ghifārī, Abū Ṭufayl ʿĀmir Ibn Wāthilah Kinānī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbd Rabb Anṣārī, ʿAbdullāh Ibn Yāmīl, Ḥabbah Ibn Juwayn ʿUranī, Abū Dhuʾayb Shāʿir, Abū Shurayḥ Khuzāʿī, Abū Juḥayfah Wahab Ibn ʿAbdillāh Suwāʾī, Abū Umāmah Ṣudayy Ibn ʿAjlān Bāhilī, ʿĀmir Ibn Layl Ibn Ḍamrah, Qays Ibn Thābit Shammās Anṣārī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Mudlaj, and Ḥabīb Ibn Budayl Ibn Warqāʾ Khuzāʿī. In addition to the aforementioned, the women include Asmāʾ Bint ʿUmays Khathʿamiyyah.

The author of *ʿAbaqāt* then says: "It is apparent from these words that Ibn ʿUqdah relates the Ghadīr Hadith on the authority of all the aforementioned companions—more than a hundred people; more than twenty-eight further companions also relate it, further strengthening this prophetic hadith."[100]

He continues:

> Abū al-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khaṭīb Jullābī, known as Ibn Maghāzilī, narrates in *Manāqib*,[101] according to the hadith of Shaykh Abū al-Hasan Yaḥyā Ibn Hasan Ibn Husayn Ibn Ali Asadī Ḥillī Ribʿī, known as Ibn Biṭrīq, in *al-ʿUmdah fī ʿUyūn Ṣaḥīḥ al-Akhbār fī Manāqib Imām al-Abrār wa al-Akhyār ʿĀmir al-Muʾminīn ʿAli Ibn Abī Ṭālib Waṣī al-Mukhtār*:

When Abū al-Qāsim Faḍl Ibn Muhammad Ibn ʿAbdillāh Iṣfahānī joined us in the town of Wāsiṭ, he told us, reading from his book and dictating on the 20th of the month of Ramaḍān, 434 AH, that Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Omar Ibn Mahdī said that Sulaymān Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ayyūb Ṭabarānī related to him that Ahmad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Kaysān Thaqafī Iṣfahānī narrated to him that Ismāʿīl Ibn Omar Bajalī said that Misʿar Ibn Kidām had related from Ṭalḥah Ibn Maʿrūf:

> I witnessed Ali on the pulpit, adjuring God's Messenger's companions. Whoever had heard the Prophet say what he said on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm should testify! Twelve men then stood up and testified, including Abū Saʿīd Khudrī, Abū Hurayrah, and Anas Ibn Mālik. All of them testified that they had heard God's Messenger say:
>
> من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعادِ من عاداه
>
> "Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master: O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy!"

Ibn Biṭrīq then says:

> [The narrator of this hadith,] Abū al-Qāsim Faḍl Ibn Muhammad, says: "This hadith is authentic [and is] from God's Messenger." About a hundred souls narrate the Ghadīr Khumm Hadith on the authority of God's Messenger, including the ten [given glad tidings that they would go to Heaven]. It is a confirmed (*thābit*) hadith in which I know no flaw. Ali alone had this honor; no one shared it with him!

He then says:

> It is clear from these words that the Ghadīr Khumm Hadith is authentically narrated on the authority of the Messenger (*Ṣāḥib al-Risālah*); a hundred companions, including the ten, i.e. the ten given the glad tidings that they would go to Heaven, narrate this hadith. Faḍl Ibn Muhammad is not satisfied with just saying this; to further emphasize and reinforce the authenticity and confirmedness of this hadith he says: "I do not know any flaw (*ʿillah*) in it." He adds: "Ali alone had this honor; no one shared it with him." These words, apart from indicating the hadith's authenticity, confirmedness, indubitability (*tawātur*), and transmission via multiple routes (*istifāḍah*) also mean that the hadith is about the imam's imamate, because no one's sharing this honor with him is clear evidence of his being favored through this honor; if the honor is the imamate

itself, the argument is proven. Even if the honor did mean something else other than the imamate, no one else had any share of it either, so the Master of the Faithful is still superior to all of them.

Entire Books Devoted to the Ghadīr

He then has a long discussion in which he says that great Sunni scholars endorse Ibn ʿUqdah's book in which the Ghadīr Khumm sermon is narrated via many routes.

They include Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn Ahmad Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Ibn Abd al-Salām Ibn Taymiyyah Ḥarrānī Ḥanbalī, praised by his contemporaries and called the Shaykh of Islam in *Muntahā al-Kalām*.[102] He goes on tenacious tirades against the righteous in *Minhāj al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyyah fī Radd Kalām al-Shīʿah wa al-Qadariyyah*, which ʿAllāmah Ḥillī refutes in *Minhāj al-Karāmah*—may God install him where honor is expected and house him in the abode of peace. [ʿAllāmah Ḥillī] says therein:

وقد صنف ابو العباس ابن عقدة مصنفا فی جمع طرقه

"Abū ʿAbbās Ibn ʿUqdah has compiled a book gathering together [the hadith's] routes.[103]

They also include Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Abū al-Faḍl Kinānī ʿAsqalānī Miṣrī Shāfiʿī, known as Ibn Ḥajar, whose eminence and virtues are undoubted by Sunni biographers such as Maqrīzī, Shams Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn Dimashqī in *Tawḍīḥ al-Mushtabah*, Badr al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Bastanakī Qāhirī in *Ṭabaqāt al-Shuʿarā'*, and others. In *Muntahā al-Kalām* the contemporary scholar prides himself on [Ibn Ḥajar's] research. He considers his oceanic knowledge of the science of *Ḥadīth* to be a given. In *Fatḥ al-Bārī*, a commentary on *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*, which is just as good as the original text on which it is a commentary, because of its eminence, and how much it is quoted from, and referred to according to the author of *Bustān al-Muḥaddithīn*, [Ibn Ḥajar] says about the virtues of the Master of the Faithful:

> Tirmidhī and Nasā'ī cite the hadith
>
> من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه
>
> "Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master."

It is a hadith the routes to which are many. Ibn ʿUqdah has collected them all together in a separate book. Many of the chains in those routes are authentic or good (*ḥasanah*).

After that, ᶜAllāmah Mīr Ḥāmid Husayn has a long discussion on Ibn ᶜUqdah and the other luminaries who narrated from him; he refers to books of biographical entries and on hadith narrators (*rijāl*) who praise those luminaries, and then says:

> Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī, the author of the chronicle, refers to the hadith on the Day of the Ghadīr in a book dedicated entirely to the subject, *Kitāb al-Walāyah* (*The Book of Guardianship*), and he has seventy-five routes to the hadith; similarly the author of *al-ᶜUmdah* relates this matter exactly as we have. He says after quoting what we also did from Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs' *al-Iqbāl* about Ṭabarī's book:
>
> > [Ibn Ṭāwūs] says in *al-Ṭarāʾif* that Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī, the author of the chronicle, relates the Ghadīr Day Hadith via seventy-five routes and has written an entire book on it titled *Kitāb al-Walāyah*. I have read, in something Ṭabarī wrote about the authenticity of the Ghadīr Hadith, that the book is called *al-Radd ᶜalā al-Ḥurqūṣiyyah* (*The Reply to the Ḥurqūṣiyyah*), meaning the Ḥanbalīs. It is because Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal is descended from Ḥurqūṣ Ibn Zuhayr the Khārijite. It is said that Ṭabarī gave his book this title because Barbahārī Ḥanbalī set about criticizing something pertaining to the Ghadīr Hadith.

ᶜAllāmah Shams al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbdillāh Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Othman Ibn Qāymāz Turkumānī Dimashqī Dhahabī admits that Ṭabarī wrote an entire book about the routes to the Ghadīr Hadith; he broke the back of those who deny it by taking an interest in that book. The sheer number of routes to it astonished him. As Muhammad Ibn Ismāʿīl says in *al-Rawḍat al-Nadiyyah*, a commentary on *al-Tuḥfat al-ᶜAlawiyyah*, In an entry on

من کنت مولاہ فعلی مولاہ

"Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master," "Dhahabī says in *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*: 'Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī wrote a book on this subject. When I read it, I was astonished by how many routes there are to it.'"

Ismāʿīl Ibn Omar Ibn Kathīr Ibn Ḍaw Ibn Kathīr Shāfiʿī (about whose virtues and merits you will read later on) says in his history book about Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī: "I have seen a book in which [Ṭabarī] collects together the hadiths on Ghadīr Khumm in two enormous volumes and [another] book in which he collects together all the routes to the Bird Hadith."[104]

Then, after a long explanation of Ṭabarī's fame and knowledge, and mentioning those great people who respected him and admired his opinion and penmanship, he says:

> The famous traditionist Abū al-Qāsim ʿUbaydullāh Ibn ʿAbdillāh Ḥaskānī wrote a book about the Ghadīr Hadith collecting together the routes to it. Then, after quoting what we also did from Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, he says: "He says in *al-Ṭarāʾif fi Maʿrifat al-Madhāhib*: 'Ḥākim Ḥaskānī ʿUbaydullāh Ibn ʿAbdillāh wrote a book about the Ghadīr Day Hadith and titled it *Kitāb al-Hudāt ilā Adāʾ Ḥaqq al-Muwālāt*. It is in twelve volumes.'"

Obviously Abū al-Qāsim Ḥaskānī was one of the greatest scholars and traditionists. As Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī says in *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāẓ*:

الحسكاني القاضي المحدث عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن احمد بن محمد بن حسكان القرشي العامري النيسابوري ويعرف بابن الحذاء، شيخ متقن ذو عناية تامة بعلم الحديث، عمر وعلا اسناده، وصنف في الابواب وجمع، حدث عن جده: الحاكم وابي طاهر بن محمش، وتفقه بالقاضي ابي العلا صاعد، املى مجلسا صحح فيه رد الشمس لعلي، وهو يدل على خبرته بالحديث، وتشيع، مات بعد اربعماة وسبعين.

> Ḥaskānī, the judge and traditionist ʿUbaydullāh Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ḥasakān al-Qarashī al-ʿĀmirī al-Nīsābūrī, known as Ibn al-Ḥadhdhāʾ: a diligent shaykh who mastered the science of *Ḥadith*. He was given a long life, and his chain of narration excels. He wrote and compiled on all subjects. He narrated on the authority of his grandfather Judge Abū Ṭāhir Ibn Maḥmish. He learned jurisprudence from Judge Abū al-ʿAlāʾ Saʿīd. He dictated a lesson (*majlis*) in which he declared it to be authentic that Ali sent the sun back, which proves his expertise in *Ḥadith*. *Tashayyaʿa*. He died after 470 [AH].

This all proves Haskānī's skill, eminence, nobility, awareness, and extreme merit. There is no harm in his authentication of the Sun Hadith's being proof that he *tashayyaʿa*, because as you have already learned, ʿAllāmah Ibn Ḥajar ʿAsqalānī explicitly states that *tashayyuʿ* means love of the Master of the Faithful and putting him before the other companions:

وتلك شكاة ظاهر عنك عارها

and the disgrace in this complaint of yours is obvious.[105]

After this section dedicated to praising Ḥākim Ḥaskānī, he moves on to Sijistānī: Abū Saʿīd Masʿūd Ibn Nāṣir Sanjarī Sijistānī also devoted an entire seventeen-volume book to the routes to the Ghadīr Hadith. He titled it *Dirāyat Ḥadīth al-Walāyah* and counted 1,300 chains of transmission. After quoting what we also did from *al-Iqbāl* by Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, concerning the Ghadīr, he says:

> It is clear from this that Sijistānī wrote an entire book recording the routes to the Ghadīr Hadith; it is in seventeen volumes and is called *Dirāyat Ḥadīth al-Walāyah*. In it, he narrates this prophetic hadith on the authority of 120 companions. He says in *al-Ṭarāʾif fī Maʿrifat Madhāhib al-Ṭawāʾif*:
>
> > I have familiarized myself with the book that Abū Saʿīd Masʿūd Ibn Nāṣir Sijistānī wrote and titled *Dirāyat Ḥadīth al-Walāyah*. It is in seventeen volumes. I have never seen anything like it; this Masʿūd Ibn Nāṣir is one of the most reliable men from the four *mahhabs*. He unveiled the Day of the Ghadīr Hadith and God's Messenger's explicit appointment of ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib as successor after him. He relates it from 120 companions, including 6 women. Whoever knows the contents of *Dirāyat Ḥadīth al-Walāyah* will not doubt that those who preceded Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib were stubborn and inclined towards seeking leadership. The number of chains in *Dirāyat Ḥadīth al-Walāyah* is 1,300.

This statement shows that Sijistānī wrote a book collecting together all the routes to the Ghadīr Hadith, narrating it on the authority of 120 companions; the number of chains of transmission [in this book] is 1,300. Obviously Masʿūd Sijistānī was one of the Sunnis' most eminent traditionists, esteemed shaykhs, foremost authorities, and master memorizers.

ʿAbd al-Karīm Samʿānī says in *Ansāb*: "Abū Saʿīd Masʿūd Ibn Abī Zayd Sanjarī al-Rikāb was a meritorious master memorizer. He travelled to Khurāsān, the mountains, Kufa, and Basra (ʿIrāqayn) and the Ḥijāz; he had many hadiths and collected much. Many people from Merv, Nīsābūr, and Iṣbahān narrated to us from him; he passed away in 477 [AH]."

After a biographical note on Sijistānī, he continues:

> Shams al-Dīn Ibn Abī ʿAbdillāh Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Dhahabī, with whose merits leading critical researchers and reliable scholars adorned and embellished their books; he also wrote an entire book on the routes to the Ghadīr Hadith. He explicitly states that the routes to it are good:

Miftāḥ Kanz Dirāyat Riwāyat al-Majmūᶜ min Durar al-Mujallad al-Masmūᶜ says that Khaṭīb Baghdādī says:

> Ḥākim was a reliable scholar who inclined towards Shiᶜism. He collected some hadiths, claiming that they were authentic according to Bukhārī's and Muslim's conditions, including the Bird Hadith and the hadith "Whoever's master I am, Ali is [also] his master." Thereafter *Ḥadīth* experts renounced him for it and paid no attention to what he said.

Ḥāfiẓ Dhahabī says:

> There is no doubt that there are many hadiths in *Mustadrak* that do not fulfil the criteria of authenticity. Indeed, it contains [some] fabricated hadiths that it would be appropriate to remove from *Mustadrak*. However, there are many good routes to the Bird Hadith that I have collected together in a separate book, which necessarily means that the hadith has a basis. There are good routes to the hadith "Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master," and I have also written an entire book on it...
>
> ...Khaṭīb Baghdādī says about Ḥākim that he was reliable but inclined towards Shiᶜism (*tashayyuᶜ*). Some scholars say that his Shiᶜism (*tashayyuᶜ*) meant preferring Ali to Othman, which was the position taken by a number of the first generation—but God knows best!

He says: "More important than all that, one scholar has written twenty-eight or more volumes gathering together all the routes to the Ghadīr Hadith."

Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Shahr Āshūb Māzandarānī is lauded with great praises, for proud merits, good qualities, and handsome attributes by Salāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl Ibn Beg Ṣafadī in *al-Wāfī bi al-Wafiyyāt*, Shaykh Majd al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir Muhammad Ibn Yaᶜqūb Fayrūz Ābādī in *al-Bulghah fī Tarājim Aᵓimmat al-Naḥw wa al-Lughah*, and Jalāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Bakr Suyūṭī in *Bughyat al-Waᶜāt fī Ṭabaqāt al-Nuḥāt*. Ṣafadī explicitly states that he is very trustworthy. [Ibn Shahr Āshūb] says in *Manāqib*, on the basis of Husayn Ibn Khayr's narration[106] in *Nukhab al-Manāqib li Āl Abī Ṭālib*:

> My grandfather, Shahr Āshūb, said: "I heard Abū al-Maᶜālī Juwaynī express astonishment and say: 'I saw a volume in the possession of a bookbinder in Baghdad. In it were narrations of the Ghadīr Hadith. On it was written "Vol. 28—Some of the routes to the Prophet's words 'Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master.'" Vol. 29 follows it.'"

Ibn Kathīr Shāmī relates the same on the authority of Abū al-Maʿālī Juwaynī in his chronicle:

انه كان يتعجب ويقول: شاهدت مجلدا ببغداد في يد صحاف فيه روايات هذا الخبر مكتوبا عليه المجلد الثامنة والعشرون من طرق «من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه»، ويتلوه المجلد [107] التاسع والعشرون

What does this indubitability or *istifāḍah* mean? After all, twenty-eight or more volumes have been written on the routes by which this hadith is narrated. Which hadith is more indubitable among the Islamic nation than this hadith, related by more than a hundred companions, or has more authentic or better chains? Eminent Sunni scholars have collected together all the routes to it, one of them even having written more than twenty-eight volumes on the routes to it.[108]

The Author of *ʿAbaqāt al-Anwār*'s Comment on the Indubitability of the Ghadīr Hadith according to Sunnis

Mīr Ḥāmid Husayn, may God be pleased with him, a Shiʿa scholar of Islam to be proud of, and a defender of Shiʿism,[109] refers in detail to the books written on Ghadīr Khumm, and moves on to name many scholars who concede the indubitability of the hadith; he then includes lengthy biographical notes on them.

ʿAllāmah Amīnī's Comment on the Sources of the Ghadīr Hadith

The late ʿAllāmah Amīnī comprehensively addresses all aspects of the hadith in *al-Ghadīr*, an opus that is one of a kind. Its author is a scholar to be proud of. He fully cites the chain of transmission of the hadith on the authority of 110 companions, their names arranged alphabetically, along with a detailed biographical note on each of them; he also cites 84 successors, their names arranged alphabetically. He lists the 360 narrators of the hadith from the second century to the fourth century and includes biographical notes on each of them. He cites 26 writers on the Ghadīr Hadith. At the end of the discussion, he writes:

Ibn Kathīr, in *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, writes in volume 5, p. 208:

Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī, the author of the exegesis and chronicle, has paid attention to the matter of this hadith. He has compiled two books on [this hadith] citing the routes to it and its

wording. The great memorizer Abū al-Qāsim Ibn ʿAsākir also narrates many hadiths about this sermon; we cite the sources of what he narrates.

After telling the story of Juwaynī in Baghdad, and his seeing that twenty-eighth volume dedicated to the Ghadīr in the book-binder's possession, [Amīnī] says, quoting *Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah*: "In *al-Qawl al-Faṣl*, vol. 1, p. 445, ʿAlawī Haddār Ḥaddād says: 'Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-ʿAlāʾ Hamadānī ʿAṭṭār says: "I relate this hadith via 250 different routes."'" There are many other books on this matter that we will refer to in [the section] on the Ghadīr Prayer.

The author of the encyclopedia *al-Ghadīr* also collects together all the odes written about the incident from the beginning of Islam, e.g. Ḥassān Ibn Thābit's right up to the fourteenth century, e.g. Kumayt's. He arranges the odes chronologically and engages in detailed discussion on the lives and lifestyles of the poets, their familiarity with scholarship, poetic rule, and argument, and the poets' devotion to the Household. In fact, *al-Ghadīr* is a huge encyclopedia based on a foundation of the Shiʿa school and includes everything that is good in poetry, literature, history, art, ethics, scholarship, and philosophy of religion. May God bless him and give him the best reward on behalf of scholarship, religion, Islam, and belief! May He install him in the ease and comfort of His Heaven with His Friends, the Muslims' imams from the best Envoy's family.

In the introduction, ʿAllāmah Amīnī speaks of the need for an authentic history of Islam and of his belief that that would bring about the progress of society. That means that any happiness and prosperity that a nation attains is through researching, criticizing, recording, setting right, and giving preponderance to authentic history. That is what leads a nation to reality and directs it to the truth. If the history of a nation is corrupted, the historians, preachers, writers, and traditionists present it in the wrong way, allowing the nation to become deluded, unable to tell right from wrong; it is then that society is ruined because their history is built on the wrong foundation.

There is no doubt about the importance of the event of the Ghadīr in the history of Islam, or indeed the history of all mankind, because a wise person never doubts that the nobility of anything depends on the nobility of its purpose. Thus the first historical subject of supreme importance is what a religion is based upon, what a creed entails, and what the mainstays of a jurisprudential school are built upon—through which nations endure and governments are established, and by which they are always remembered.

That is why we find that leading historians exert themselves in recording the principles and teachings of religions, resultant proselytization, battles, governments, and states in every era, generation after generation. If a historian is negligent in recording any of these events and does not investigate them properly, he leaves a gap in his history book and presents an incomplete history to the nations. By relying on such a history, one cannot make out what its basis is. How often minor negligence on the part of a historian leads readers down a blind alley!

The event of the Ghadīr is one of the most important events that have taken place in history because the religion of the followers of the Prophet's Household is based upon this event; there are millions of these followers among the nations. They include scholars, great men, sages, the righteous, scientific geniuses from the earliest generation to the current one, kings and statesmen, commanders, and leaders. They are of enormous merit and have written precious books in every field of learning.

Therefore, if a historian is a follower of the Household, he has a duty to effuse upon his nation the tidings of the commencement of his proselytization. If he is not, he must still explain it frankly when he sets out the history of a great nation like this one, or add to it whatever flaw he thinks there is in its signification, if he is so disposed as to surrender to emotion or whatever sectarianism he cannot overcome. This is because he will not be able to find any flaw in the chain of transmission, since no two people disagree over the hadith's wording, even though they disagree over its meaning, for reason of motives that are obvious to any alert and knowledgeable person.

Historians Who Recount the Incident at Ghadīr Khumm

The leading historians who have cited the Ghadīr Hadith include the following:

1. Balādhurī (d. 279 AH) in *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*
2. Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276 AH) in *al-Maᶜārif* and *al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*
3. Ṭabarī (d. 310 AH) in an entire book [on the subject]
4. Ibn Zūlāq Laythī Miṣrī (d. 287 AH) in his book
5. Khaṭīb Baghdādī (d. 463 AH) in his chronicle
6. Ibn ᶜAbd al-Birr (d. 463 AH) in *al-Istiᶜāb*
7. Shahristānī (d. 548 AH) in *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*
8. Ibn ᶜAsākir (d. 571 AH) in *Tārikh Dimashq*

9. Yāqūt Ḥamawī in *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ*, vol. 18, p. 84 of the latest edition

10. Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630 AH) in *Usd al-Ghābah*

11. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (d. 656 AH) in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*

12. Ibn Khallikān (d. 681 AH) in his chronicle

13. Yāfiʿī (d. 768 AH) in *Mirʾāt al-Jinān*

14. Ibn al-Shaykh Balawī in *Alif Bāʾ*

15. Ibn Kathīr Shāmī (d. 774 AH) in *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*

16. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808 AH) in *al-Muqaddimah*

17. Shams al-Dīn Dhahabī in *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ*

18. Nuwayrī (d. 833 AH) in *Nihāyat al-Arab*

19. Ibn Ḥajar ʿAsqalānī (d. 852 AH) in *al-Iṣābah* and *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*

20. Ibn Ṣabbāgh Mālikī (d. 855 AH) in *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*

21. Maqrīzī (d. 845 AH) in *al-Khiṭaṭ*

22. Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī (d. 910 AH) in numerous books

23. Qirmānī Dimashqī (d. 1019 AH) in *Akhbār al-Duwal*

24. Nūr al-Dīn Ḥalabī (d. 1044 AH) in *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*

and other historians.

This matter is no less important in historiography than it is in the science of *Ḥadīth*. Whichever direction a traditionist faces in his vast subject [the science of *Ḥadīth*], he encounters authentic [hadiths] and hadiths with proper chains (*masānīd*) that confirm that this legacy belongs to whoever is in charge of the religion. Every generation has inherited it from the previous one all the way back to the generation of companions who heard the hadith. He will find that the inheritance from generation to generation is so bright that it is blinding.

If a traditionist is unaware of this matter [and the importance of it], he cheapens the nation's due and deprives them of the great good left to them by the Prophet of Mercy through his great benevolence and his guidance of them to the straight path!

Ḥadīth Scholars Who Relate What Transpired at Ghadīr Khumm

The leading traditionists who have cited the Ghadīr Hadith include the following:

1. The imam of the Shāfiʿīs, Abū ʿAbdillāh Muhammad Ibn Idrīs Shāfiʿī, who died in 204 AH according to *al-Nihāyah* by Ibn Athīr

2. The imam of the Ḥanbalīs, Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241 AH) in *Musnad* and *Manāqib*

3. Ibn Mājah (d. 273 AH) in *Sunan*

4. Tirmidhī (d. 279 AH) in *Ṣaḥīḥ*

5. Nasā'ī (d. 303 AH) in *Khaṣā'iṣ*
6. Abū Ya'lā Mawṣilī (d. 307 AH) in *Musnad*
7. Baghawī (d. 317 AH) in *Sunan*
8. Dūlābī (d. 320 AH) in *al-Kunā wa al-Asmā'*
9. Ṭaḥāwī (d. 321 AH) in *Mushkil al-Āthār*
10. Ḥākim (d. 405 AH) in *Mustadrak*
11. Ibn Maghāzilī Shāfi'ī (d. 483 AH) in *Manāqib*
12. Ibn Mandah Iṣfahānī (d. 512 AH) via several routes in his work
13. Khaṭīb Khārazmī (d. 568 AH) in *Manāqib* and in *Maqtal al-Husayn*
14. Ganjī (d. 658 AH) in *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib*
15. Muḥibb al-Dīn Ṭabarī (d. 694 AH) in *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍirah* and *Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbā*
16. Ḥammū'ī (d. 722 AH) in *Farā'id al-Simṭayn*
17. Haythamī (d. 807 AH) in *Majma' al-Zawā'id*
18. Dhahabī (d. 748 AH) in *Talkhīṣ*
19. Jazarī (d. 830 AH) in *Asnā al-Maṭālib*
20. Qasṭalānī (d. 923 AH) in *al-Mawāhib al-Ladunniyyah*
21. Muttaqī Hindī (d. 975 AH) in *Kanz al-'Ummāl*
22. Harawī Qārī (d. 1014 AH) in *al-Mirqāt fī Sharḥ al-Mishkāt*
23. Tāj al-Dīn Manāwī (d. 1031 AH) in *Kunūz al-Ḥaqā'iq fī ḤadīthKhayr al-Akhlāq* and *Fayḍ al-Ghadīr*
24. Shaykhānī Qādirī in *al-Ṣirāt al-Sawī fī Manāqib Āl al-Nabī*
25. Bākathīr al-Makkī (d. 1047 AH) in *Wasīlat al-Āmāl min Manāqib al-Āl*
26. Abū 'Abdillāh Zarqānī Mālikī (d. 1122 AH) in *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib*
27. Ibn Ḥamzah Dimashqī Ḥanafī in *al-Bayān wa al-Ta'rīf*

and other traditionists.

Exegetes Who Recount the Incident at the Ghadīr

Similarly, an exegete confronted with Qur'anic verses revealed about this matter sees it as his duty to pass on everything there is about its revelation and exegesis and is not content for his knowledge to be cut off or his endeavor to be aborted.

Leading exegetes who have cited [the Ghadīr Hadith] include the following:

1. Ṭabarī (d. 310 AH) in his exegesis
2. Tha'labī (d. 427/437 AH) in his exegesis
3. Wāḥidī (d. 468 AH) in *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*

4. Qurṭubī (d. 567 AH) in his exegesis
5. Abū al-Suʿūd in his exegesis
6. Fakhr Rāzī (d. 606 AH) in *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*
7. Ibn Kathīr Shāmī (d. 774 AH) in his exegesis
8. Nīsābūrī (d. eighth c.) in his exegesis
9. Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī in his exegesis
10. Khaṭīb Sharabīnī in his exegesis
11. Ālūsī Baghdādī (d. 1270 AH) in his exegesis

and other exegetes.

Theologians and Lexicographers Who Refer to the Incident at the Ghadīr

When a theologian adduces proofs for every theological matter and arrives at the question of the imamate, he cannot avoid referring to the Ghadīr Hadith either as proof of his claim or of his opponent's, even if he follows it up with criticism in the assessment of what it means, for example:

1. Qāḍī Abū Bakr Bāqillānī Baṣrī (d. 403 AH) in *Tamhīd al-Qawāʿid*
2. Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ījī Shāfiʿī (d. 756 AH) in *al-Mawāqif*
3. Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī (d. 816) in *Sharḥ al-Mawāqib*
4. Bayḍāwī (d. 685) in *Ṭawāliʿ al-Anwār*
5. Shams al-Dīn Iṣfahānī in *Maṭāliʿ al-Anẓār*
6. Taftazānī (d. 792 AH) in *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid*
7. Qūshchī Mawlā ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (d. 879 AH) in *Sharḥ al-Tajrīd*

All these theologians quote these words:

> On the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, the Prophet gathered together all the people in a place between Mecca and Medina in Juḥfah. That was after his return from the Farewell Pilgrimage. It was such a summery day that a man would have to spread his mantle under his feet from the severity of the heat. Saddlebags were collected together, and he climbed on top of them. He said in a sermon [to the people]:
>
> معاشر المسلمين، ألست اولى بكم من انفسكم؟ قالوا: اللهم بلى، قال: من كنت مولاه فعلى مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، وانصر من نصره، واخذل من خذله
>
> "O ye Muslims! Do I not have greater authority over you than you have over your own selves?" They replied: "God, yes!" He said: "Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Help whoever helps him, and forsake whoever forsakes him!"

The theologians do not quote these words from any particular source, but rather as a given, without any chain of transmission.

The theologians include Qāḍī Munajjim Muḥammad Shāfiʿī (d. 876 AH) in *Badīʿ al-Maʿānī*, Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī in *Arbaʿīn*, the Muftī of the Levant, Ḥāmid Ibn Ali, in *ʿImādī* in *al-Ṣalāt al-Fākhirah bi al-Aḥādīth al-Mutawātirah*, Ālūsī Baghdādī (d. 1324 AH) in *Nathr al-Liʾālī*, and others.

Lexicographers cannot avoid referring to the Ghadīr Hadith when discussing the meaning of the words *mawlā* (master), Khumm, Ghadīr, or *walī* (guardian), for example Ibn Durayd Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan (d. 321 AH) in *Jamharah*, vol. 1, p. 71,[110] Ibn al-Athīr in *al-Nihāyah*, Ḥamawī in *Muʿjam al-Buldān* under "Khumm," Zubaydī Ḥanafī in *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, and Nabahānī in *al-Majmūʿah al-Nabahāniyyah*.

It appears in *Ghāyat al-Marām* under the heading "The Prophet's explicit appointment at Ghadīr Khumm of the Master of the Faithful Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as master (*mawlā*), meaning commander and leader, by saying: 'Whoever's master I am (*man kuntu mawlāhu*), so too is Ali his master (*mawlāhu*),'" via eighty-nine Sunni hadiths and forty-three Shiʿa hadiths. Several hadiths from both sects follow:

> [Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal says that Ibn Numayr told him that ʿAbd al-Mālik Ibn ʿAṭiyyah ʿAwfī told them:] I went to Zayd Ibn Arqam and said to him: "My maternal uncle has related a hadith to me from you concerning Ali's position on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm. I would like to hear it from you."
>
> [Zayd] said: "O ye people of Iraq! You know how treacherous you are (*fikum mā fikum*)!" I said: "No harm will come to you from me!" He said: "Yes, we were at Juḥfah, and God's Messenger emerged at noon, holding Ali's hand and said: 'O people! Do you not know that I have greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves?' They replied: 'Yes.' [The Prophet] said: 'O God, whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master.'"
>
> I asked: "Did God's Messenger say: 'O God! Be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy?'"
>
> Zayd replied: "I am only telling you what I heard."[111]
>
> ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal said:
>
> Ḥammād narrated to us from Ali Ibn Zayd from ʿAdī Ibn Thābit from Birr—ʿĀzib's son:

We approached with the Prophet on the Farewell Pilgrimage until we were at Ghadīr Khumm. We were then called to congregational prayer, and [the ground] between two trees was swept for God's Messenger. [God's Messenger] then took Ali's hand and said: "Do I not have greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves?" [The crowd] replied: "Yes, God's Messenger!"

He said: "Do I not have greater authority over every believer than he has over his own self?" They replied: "Yes, God's Messenger!"

He said:

> This [man] is master to whomever I am master!
>
> اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه
>
> O God! Be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy.

Omar then caught up with Ali and said:

هنيئا لك يا بن ابي طالب اصبحت وامسيت مولى كل مؤمن ومؤمنة

"Bravo, son of Abū Ṭālib. You have become morning and evening, the master of all believers male and female!"[112]

ʿAbdullāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal said:

ʿAbdullāh Ibn Ṣaqr told me in the year 299 [AH] that Yaʿqūb Ibn Ḥamdān Ibn Kāsib told us:

> Sufyān narrated to us from Ibn Abī Najīḥ, from his father and Rubayʿah al-Jarshī, that Ali was mentioned in the presence of a man, and Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ was with him; Saʿd said:
>
> > I remember mention that he had four virtues, if I had [just] one of which, it would be preferable for me than such-and-such and such-and-such. He referred to red-maned camels. [God's Messenger's] saying:
> >
> > لاعطين الراية
> >
> > "I will most certainly give the banner...," his saying:
> >
> > انت مني بمنزلة هارون من موسى
> >
> > "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses," and saying:
> >
> > من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه

"Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master."

Sufyān forgot one.[113]

There is a hadith in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* that says:

Ibn Bakkār Ibn Rayyān told us:

Ḥassan—Ibn Ibrāhīm—narrated to us from Saʿīd Ibn Masrūq, from Yazīd Ibn Ḥayyān about Zayd Ibn Arqam:

We went to see him and said to him: "You were a companion of God's Messenger, prayed behind him, and encountered much good. Tell us what you heard from God's Messenger."

Zayd said: "O my brother's son! By God, I am old-aged, my end is nigh, and I have forgotten some of what I heard from God's Messenger. Whatever I tell you, accept it! Whatever I do not, do not blame me for it." Then he said:

One day God's Messenger stood among us delivering a sermon at what is called Khumm, between Mecca and Medina. So he praised and glorified God, warned and reminded, then said:

Now then:

ایها الناس انما انا بشر یوشك ان یأتینی رسول ربی فاجیب، الا وانی تارك فیکم الثقلین احدهما کتاب الله، وهو حبل الله، من اتبعه کان علی الهدی، ومن ترکه کان علی ضلالة، فیه الهدی والنور فخذوا بکتاب الله واستمسکوا به. فحث علی کتاب الله ورغب فیه، ثم قال: واهل بیتی، اذکرکم الله فی اهل بیتی، اذکرکم الله فی اهل بیتی، اذکرکم الله فی اهل بیتی. قال: فقلنا: ومن اهل بیته نساءه؟

قال: لا، ایم الله ان المرأة تکون مع الرجل العصر ثم الدهر ثم یطلقها فترجع الی اهلها وقومها. اهل بیته اهله وعصبته الذین حرموا الصدقة بعده.[114]

O people, I am only human. My Lord's messenger is nearly coming to me and I will have to answer. Lo, I

> am leaving among you two weighty things: one of them is God's Book, God's rope. Whoever follows it will be guided. Whoever forsakes it will be in error. In it is guidance and light, so take God's Book and cling to it."
>
> Thereafter, he urged and awakened their interest in God's Book. He then said: "And my Household! I exhort you to obey God with regard to my Household. I exhort you to obey God with regard to my Household. I exhort you to obey God with regard to my Household!"
>
> So we asked: "Are [his] wives part of [his] Household?" Zayd replied, "No. By God they are not the members of the Household of the Messenger. It is because a woman lives with [her] husband for a while, then a time, and then he divorces her and she returns to her family and tribe. His Household is his family and relations who are not allowed [to receive] charity."[115]

In *Manāqib Ibn al-Maghāzilī*, Abū al-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Maghāzilī Wāsiṭī Shāfiʿī, via a chain from Zayd Ibn Arqam, refers to the matter of the Ghadīr. He narrates that God's Messenger said, after praising and glorifying God:

اما بعد ایها الناس فانه لم یکن لنبی من العمر الا نصف ما عمر من قبله، وان عیسی بن مریم لبث فی قومه اربعین سنة، وانی قد اشرعت[116] فی العشرین، الا وانی یوشك ان افارقکم وانی مسؤول وانتم مسؤولون.

"Now then, O ye people, a prophet has only ever been allowed to live half as long his predecessor. Surely Jesus son of Mary remained among his people for forty years, and I am into the twentieth.[117] Lo I am nearly leaving you, and surely I will be questioned and you will also be questioned." After enjoining the people and making them want to cling to the two weighty things, he continued:

فانی قد سألت لهما اللطیف الخبیر فاعطانی، ناصر ما لی ناصر، وخاذل ما لی خاذل، ووالیهما لی ولی، وعدو ما لی عدو، الا فانها لم تهلك امة قبلکم حتی تدین باهوائها، وتظاهر علی نبوتها، و تقتل من قام بالقسط منها. ثم اخذ ید علی بن أبی طالب فرفعها وقال: من کنت ولیه فهذا ولیه اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه. قالها ثلاثا. آخر الخطبة.[118]

I have asked the Kind, the Knowing, and He has granted it to me. A helper to them is a helper to me. A forsaker of them is a forsaker of me. A friend of theirs is a friend of mine. An enemy of theirs is an enemy of mine! Lo, no nation has ever perished before you without following its desires, making common cause against its prophecy, and killing whoever among it establishes equity.

Then he took Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's hand, lifted it up, and said: "Whoever's master I am, so too is this his master; O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy!" He said it three times—end of sermon.[119]

Ibn Maghāzilī also relates in *Manāqib*, via his chain from Jābir Ibn ᶜAbdillāh, saying that the Prophet stopped at Khumm, and the people kept their distance from him, but Ali also stopped with him. So the people's lagging behind troubled him, and he ordered Ali to gather them together. Then, when they had congregated, he stood among them resting on Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's hand. Thereafter, he praised and glorified God. He then said:

ایها الناس انه قد کرهت تخلفکم عنی حتی خیل الی انه لیس شجرة ابغض إلیکم من شجرة تلینی، ثم قال: لکن علی بن أبی طالب انزله الله منی بمنزلتی منه، فرضی الله عنه کما انا عنه راض فانه لا یختار علی قربی ومحبتی شیئا. ثم رفع یدیه وقال: من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه.

قال: فابتدر الناس الی رسول الله صلی الله علیه وآله یبکون ویتضرعون ویقولون: یا رسول الله، ما تخینا عنک الا کراهیة ان تثقل علیک، فنعوذ بالله من شرور انفسنا وسخط رسول الله. فرضی رسول الله عنهم عند ذلک.[120]

"O people! I hated your lagging behind me so much that I was made to imagine that no tree is more loathsome to you than a tree following me!" He then said: "However, God has made Ali to me as I am to Him, and God is pleased with him, as I am pleased with him, because he does not choose anything over closeness to and love for me." He then lifted his hands up and said: "Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master. O God! Be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy!"

Jābir said: "The people then rushed to God's Messenger, crying and beseeching him: 'O God's Messenger, we only kept our distance

from you because we hated being a burden to you, and we seek refuge in God from the evils of ourselves and from God's Messenger's anger.' Thereafter, God's Messenger forgave them."

Abu Hurayrah Concedes the Ghadīr Hadith in Muʿāwiyah's Presence

Muwaffaq Ibn Ahmad, the most eloquent preacher in Khārazm, narrates via his chain that Aṣbagh Ibn Nubātah said:

> I went to Muʿāwiyah, and he was sitting on a leather mattress and leaning back against two green pillows. ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ, Ḥawshab, and Dhū al-Kalāʿ were on his right; his brother ʿUtbah, Ibn ʿĀmir, Ibn Kurayz, Walīd Ibn ʿUtbah, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khālid, and Sharḥabīl Ibn Simṭ were on his left; and Abū Hurayrah, Abū Dardāʾ, Nuʿmān Ibn Bashīr, and Abū Umāmah Bāhilī were before him.
>
> When he had read the [Master of the Faithful's] letter, he said: "Ali is not handing Othman's killers over to us." I said: "O Muʿāwiyah, you are using Othman's blood wit as an excuse because you seek power and control! If you had wanted to help him, you would have helped him when he was alive! However, you waited for something to happen to him to use that as a means to reach power!"
>
> [Muʿāwiyah] became angry with [my claim], and I wanted him to become angrier, so I said to Abū Hurayrah: "O companion of God's Messenger! I adjure you by God, apart from Whom there is no other god, Knower of what is unseen and what is seen, and by His beloved Chosen One to tell me—did you witness Ghadīr Khumm?" Abū Hurayrah replied: "Yes, I did witness it." I asked: "What did you hear [the Prophet say] about Ali?" He replied:
>
> > I heard him say:
> >
> > من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، وانصر من نصره، واخذل من خذله
> >
> > "Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Help whoever helps him, and forsake whoever forsakes him!"
>
> I asked: "So you accept his enemy as master and are an enemy to whoever accepts [Ali] as master!" Abū Hurayrah heaved a deep sigh, and said:

انا لله وانا اليه راجعون

"Surely we are God's and to Him we shall surely return (2:156)."[121]

Samᶜāni narrates via his chain from Sālim Ibn Abī Jaᶜd:

It was said to Omar:

تصنع بعلي ما لا تصنعه بأحد من صحابة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله؟

قال: لأنه مولاي.[122]

"You do to Ali what you do not do to any of God's Messenger's other companions!" Omar replied: "Because he is my master."

Ibrāhīm Ibn Muhammad Ḥammūʾī, an eminent Sunni scholar, says:

Shaykh Majd al-Dīn ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Maḥmūd Ibn Mawdūd Ḥanafī told me at my readback to him, on the third of Rajab, 672:

Shaykh Abū Bakr al-Mismār Ibn Omar Ibn al-ᶜUways al-Baghdādī, hearing [someone else's readback] to him (*samāᶜan ᶜalayhi*), said:

We were informed by Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbd al-Bāqī, known as Ibn Baṭṭī, hearing [someone else's] readback to him, and by the jurisprudent Imam Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Ghālib Hibatullāh Ibn Abī al-Qāsim Ibn Abī Ghālib Sāmirī, at my readback to him at the Palace Mosque of Baghdad, on the eve of the 27th of Ramaḍān, the year 682:

We were informed by Shaykh Maḥāsin Ibn Omar Ibn Riḍwān Ḥarāʾini, hearing [someone else's readback] to him, on the 21st of Muharram, 622:

We were informed by Abū Bakr Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbdillāh Ibn Naṣr Ibn Zaᶜfarānī, by hearing [someone else's readback] to him, on the 16th of Rajab, the year 550:

We were informed by Abū ᶜAbdillāh Mālik Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm Farrāʾ Bānyāsī by hearing [someone else's readback] to him, that Ibn Raghūnī in the month of Shaᶜbān, in the year 463 said:

Abū al-Hasan Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mūsā Ibn Qāsim Ibn Ṣalt informed us via a readback to him while I was listening, on the 13th of Rajab, in the year 405:

Ibrāhīm Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad Hāshimī, whose teknonym is Abū Isḥāq, said:

Abū Saᶜīd al-Ashajj informed us:

Muṭṭalib Ibn Ziyād informed us on the authority of ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Muhammad Ibn ᶜAqīl:

I was in Jābir Ibn ᶜAbdillāh's house, and Ali Ibn al-Husayn, Muhammad Ibn Ḥanafiyyah, and Abū Jaᶜfar [Bāqir] were [also there], when an Iraqi man came in and told Jābir: "I adjure you by God, tell me what you have seen and heard from God's Messenger."

[Jābir] said:

We were at Juḥfah at Ghadīr Khumm, and there were many people there from Juhaynah, Muzaynah, and Ghifār. God's Messenger came out to us from his wool tent (*khibāʾ*) or hair tent (*fusṭāṭ*).[123] Thereupon, he pointed three times, and then took Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib's hand and said:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه[124]

"Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master."

ᶜAmr Ibn Al-ᶜĀṣ's Letter to Muᶜāwiyah in Which Reference Is Made to the Ghadīr Hadith

Khārazmī says in a hadith about Muᶜāwiyah's letter to ᶜAmr al-ᶜĀṣ to goad him into fighting against Ali, and about ᶜAmr's refusal, Muᶜāwiyah's letter of response, and then ᶜAmr's recounting of Ali's virtues [one after the other]:

وقد قال فيه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله: هو مني وانا منه، وهو مني بمنزلة هارون من موسى الا انه لا نبي بعدي، وقد قال فيه يوم غدير خم: الا ومن كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، وانصر من نصره، واخذل من خذله...[125]

God's Messenger said about him: "He is a part of me and I am part of him. He is to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet

after me." He said about him on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm: "Lo! Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master; O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Help whoever helps him and forsake whoever forsakes him..."

Ibrāhīm Ibn Muhammad Ḥammūʾī narrates via his chain from Zayd Ibn Omar Ibn Muwarraq that he said:

I was in Damascus and Omar Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was giving [grants] to the people. I approached him, and he asked me: "From which [tribe] are you?" I replied: "From the Quraysh." He asked: "From which Quraysh are you?" I replied: "From the Hāshimites." He asked: "Which Hāshimites?" I then fell silent, so he put his hand on his chest and said: "By God, I am a descendent (*mawlā*) of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib."

He then said: "Several people have narrated to me that they heard God's Messenger say: 'Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master. " Then he said to his treasurer, "O Muzāḥim! How much do you give the likes of him?" [Muzāḥim] replied: "One or two hundred dirhams."

Omar Ibn Abd al-ʿAzīz said: "Give him fifty dirhams because of his closeness to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib." He then said: "Return to your town, and whatever comes to your counterparts, will come to you."[126]

Ḥammūʾī also relates via his chain from Abū Saʿīd Khūdrī that God's Messenger called the people to Ali at Ghadīr Khumm and ordered that all the thorns under the tree be swept up. That was on a Thursday.[127] He then called Ali, took hold of his upper arms, and lifted them so [high] that the people saw the whiteness of God's Messenger's armpits. They then did not disperse until this verse was revealed:

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا

This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion (5:3).

God's Messenger then said:

الله اكبر على اكمال الدين واتمام النعمة ورضا الرب برسالتي والولاية لعلي من بعدي.

"God is too great [to be described] for perfecting the religion, and completing the favor and the Lord's contentment with my Message and Ali's guardianship
after me."

He said:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، وانصر من نصره، واخذل من خذله.

"Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master; O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Help whoever helps him and forsake whoever forsakes him."

Thereafter, Ḥassān Ibn Thābit said: "Allow me, God's Messenger, to utter some couplets about Ali for you to hear." He replied: "Speak with God's blessing."

Ḥassān's Poetry That He Recited before the Prophet

Thereafter, Ḥassān stood up and said: "O ye elders of the Quraysh! Listen to what I say, testimony from God's Messenger about guardianship confirmed as Ali's!" He then recited these couplets:

ينادیهم یوم الغدیر نبیهم بخم واسمع بالرسول منادیا
یقول: فمن مولاکم ووليکم؟ فقالوا ولم یبدوا هناك التعامیا[128]
الهك مولانا وانت ولینا ولن تجدن منا لك الیوم عاصیا
هناك دعا: اللهم وال ولیه وکن للذی عادی علیا معادیا
فقال له: قم یا علی فانني رضیتك من بعدی اماما وهادیا.[129]

On the Day of Ghadīr, their Prophet calls them at Khumm. Listen to the Messenger call:
He asks: "Who is your master and guardian?" They replied and showed no pretense not to know:
"Your God is our Master and you are our guardian; and you will not find anyone among us disobeying you today."
There, he prayed: "O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is Ali's enemy."
He then said to him: "O Ali, stand up, because I have chosen you as imam and guide after me."

It should be realized that luminaries and scholars of *Ḥadīth* and history unanimously agree on Ḥassān Ibn Thābit's poetry; these very couplets are living evidence of Ali's appointment as guardian on the Day of the Ghadīr. They are considered to be important historical

documentary evidence of the Ghadīr because they were recited before God's Messenger, and the meaning of the Guardianship (*Walāyah*) Hadith on the Day of Ghadīr is explained in them.

Ḥassān was the Prophet's poet, and he occupies an unassailable position in poetry. In their books, historians narrate his poems in praise of the Prophet and the Master of the Faithful recited on various occasions. Those who quote his Ghadīr poem disagree over the number of couplets; some say three, others four, some five, and the majority six, though some say ten or more. The couplets as narrated in *al-Ghadīr* follow, after which there is a list of the Sunni and Shi'a greats who quote that Ghadīr poem in their books.

ينادیهم یوم الغدیر نبیهم بخم واسمع بالرسول منادیا 1

فقال: فمن مولاکم ونبیکم فقالوا ولم یبدوا هناك التعامیا: 2

الهك مولانا وانت نبینا ولم تلق منا فی الولایة عاصیا 3

فقال له: قم یا علی فانني رضیتك من بعدی اماما وهادیا 4

فمن کنت مولاه فهذا ولیه فکونوا له اتباع صدق مواليا 5

هناك دعا اللهم: وال ولیه وکن للذی عاد اعلیا معادیا. 6

1. Their Prophet calls them on the Day of Ghadīr. Listen to the Messenger calling!
2. And he asked: "So who is your guardian and prophet?" They replied, and showed no pretense not to know:
3. "Your God is our Guardian, and you are our prophet! And you will find no one among us disobedient over authority."
4. He then told him: "Stand up, Ali, because I have chosen you (*raḍituk*) as imam and guide after me!
5. "And whoever's master I am, this is also his master; so be sincere, loving followers of him."
6. He then prayed: "O God! Be a Guardian to his followers and be an enemy to whoever is an enemy to Ali."

Scholars Who Cite Ḥassān Ibn Thābit's Extempore Poetry at Ghadīr Khumm

Famous Sunni scholars who have quoted Ḥassān's couplets in their books include the following:

1. Ḥāfiẓ Abū ʿAbdillāh Marzabānī Muhammad Ibn ʿImrān Khurāsānī (d. 378 AH) in *Mirqāt al-Shiʿr*

2. Ḥāfiẓ Abū Saʿīd Kharkūshi (d. 406 AH) in *Sharaf al-Mūṣṭafā*

3. Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Mardawayh Iṣfahānī (d. 410) in his book

4. Ḥāfiẓ Abū Nuᶜaym Iṣfahānī (d. 430 AH) in *Mā Nazala min al-Qurʾān fī ᶜAlī*

5. Ḥāfiẓ Abū Saʿīd Sijistānī (d. 477 AH) in *al-Walāyah*

6. The most eloquent preacher Khārazmī (d. 568 AH) in *al-Manāqib* and *Maqtal al-Imām al-Sibṭ al-Shahīd*

7. Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Fatḥ Naṭanzī in *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ᶜAlawiyyah ᶜalā Sāʾir al-Bariyyah*

8. Abū al-Muẓaffar Sibṭ Ibn Juzī Ḥanafī (d. 654 AH) in *Tadhkirat Khawāṣṣ al-Ummah*

9. Ṣadr al-Ḥuffāẓ Ganjī Shāfiʿī (d. 658 AH) in *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib*

10. Shaykh al-Islam Ṣadr al-Dīn Ḥammūʾī (d. 750 AH) in *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*

11. Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Yūsuf Zarandī (d. circa 750 AH) in *Naẓm Durar al-Simṭayn*

12. Ḥāfiẓ Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī (d. 911 AH) in *al-Izdihār fī Mā ᶜAqadahu al-Shuᶜarā min al-Ashᶜār*

Famous Shiᶜa scholars who have quoted Ḥassān's poems include the following:

1. Abū ᶜAbdillāh Mufajjiᶜ Muhammad Ibn Ahmad (d. 227 AH)

2. Abū Jaᶜfar Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Ibn Rostam Ṭabarī in *al-Mustarshid*

3. Abū Jaᶜfar Ṣadūq Muhammad Ibn Bābawayh (d. 381 AH) in *al-Amālī*

4. Sharīf Raḍī (d. 406)

5. Muᶜallim al-Ummah Shaykh Mufīd (d. 413 AH) in *al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtārah*, his treatise on the meaning of *Mawlā*, *al-Nuṣrah li Sayyid al-ᶜItrah fī Ḥarb al-Baṣrah* and *al-Irshād*

6. Sharīf Sayyid Murtaḍā ᶜAlam al-Hudā (d. 436 AH) in *Sharḥ Bāʾiyyat al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī*

7. Abū al-Fatḥ Karājukī (d. 449 AH) in *Kanz al-Fawāʾid*

8. Shaykh ᶜUbaydullāh Ibn ᶜAbdillāh Saᶜdābādī in *al-Muqniᶜ fī al-Walāyah*

9. Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifah Abū Jaᶜfar Ṭūsī (d. 460 AH) in *Talkhīṣ al-Shāfī*

10. The great exegete Shaykh Abū al-Futūḥ Khuzāʿī Rāzī (d. 588 AH) in his exegesis

11. Shaykh Fattāl in *Rawḍat al-Wāᶜiẓīn*

12. Abū Ali Faḍl Ibn Hasan Ṭabarsī in *Iᶜlām al-Warā*

13. Ibn Shahr Āshūb Sarawī Māzandarānī (d. 588 AH) in *al-Manāqib*

14. Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā Ibn Hasan Ḥillī, known as Ibn Biṭrīq in *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ*

15. Sayyid Hibat al-Dīn in *al-Majmūᶜ al-Rāʾiq*
16. Raḍī al-Dīn Ali Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664 AH) in *al-Ṭarāʾif*
17. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-Hasan Irbilī (d. 692 or 693 AH) in *Kashf al-Ghummah*
18. ᶜImād al-Dīn Hasan Ṭabarī in *Kāmil Bahāʾī*
19. Shaykh Yūsuf Ibn Abī Ḥātim Shāmī in two places in *al-Durr al-Naẓīm*
20. Shaykh Ali Bayāḍ ᶜĀmilī in *al-Ṣirāt al-Mustaqīm*
21. Qāḍī Nūrullāh Marᶜashī Shūshtarī (martyred in 1091 AH) in *Majālis al-Muʾminīn*
22. Mawlā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī (d. 1091 AH) in *ᶜIlm al-Yaqīn*
23. Shaykh Ibrāhīm Qaṭīfī in *al-Firqah al-Nājiyah*
24. Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī (d. 1107 AH) in *Ghāyat al-Marām*
25. ᶜAllāmah Majlisī (d. 1111 AH) in *Biḥār al-Anwār*
26. Shaykh Yūsuf Baḥrānī (d. 1186 AH), the author of *al-Ḥadāʾiq*, in *al-Kashkūl*.

A number of other scholars also narrate Ḥassān's poetry according to this hadith,[130] but we have just listed the luminaries and the titles of their books because our discussion is on the chain of transmission of the Ghadīr and Guardianship Hadith.

Ḥammūʾī also narrates via his chain from Aṣbagh Ibn Nubātah:

قال: سئل سلمان الفارسي ـ رضى الله عنه ـ عن علي بن أبي طالب وفاطمة ـ صلوات الله عليهما وآلهما ـ فقال: سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يقول: عليكم بعلي بن أبي طالب، فانه مولاكم فاحبوه، وكبيركم فاتبعوه، وعالمكم فاكرموه، وقائدكم الى الجنة فوزروه، فاذا دعاكم فاجيبوه، واذا امركم فاطيعوه، احبوه بحبي، واكرموه بكرامتي، ما قلت لكم في علي الا ما امرني به ربي جلت عظمته.[131]

He says:

Salmān Fārisī was asked about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib and Fāṭimah. Salmān answered:

I heard the Prophet say:

You must support Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib because he is your master, so love him, and your chief, so follow him, your scholar, so honor him, and your leader to Heaven, so esteem him. When he calls you, answer him; when he orders you, obey him. Love him as you love me, honor him as you honor me! I have not

told you anything about Ali that my Lord, illustrious is His greatness, has not ordered me to!

In *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd narrates from Sufyān Thawrī, from ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Qāsim, from ᶜAmr Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ghaffār that when Abū Hurayrah came to Kufa with Muᶜāwiyah, and would sit in the evenings at Kindah Gate, and people would sit before him, a young man from Kufa sat before him and asked:

O Abū Hurayrah, I adjure you by God. Did you hear God's Messenger say about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib:

اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه؟

"O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy"?

Abū Hurayrah replied: "By God, yes."

The young man then said:

فاشهد بالله لقد واليت عدوه، وعاديت وليه. ثم قام عنه.[132]

"Then, I testify, by God, you have accepted his enemy as master and been an enemy to him who accepts [Ali] as master!" Then he stood up and left him.

Despite ᶜAmmār's Fine Merits, the Enemy Combatants at Ṣiffīn Should Have Been More Concerned about Having Sided against Imam Ali Than about Having Sided against ᶜAmmār

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd also says in *Sharḥ* that Ibn Nūḥ said:

واعجبا من قوم - يعني من اصحاب صفين - يعتريهم الشك في امرهم في مكان عمار، ولا يعتريهم الشك في مكان علي عليه السلام ويستدلون على ان الحق مع اهل العراق يكون عمار بين اظهرهم، ولا يعنون بمكان علي، ويحذرون من قول النبي صلى الله عليه وآله: تقتلك الفئة الباغية، ويرتاعون لذلك، ولا يرتاعون لقوله في علي عليه السلام: اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، ولا لقوله: لا يحبك الا مؤمن، ولا يبغضك الا منافق.[133]

How strange it is of a nation—i.e. those who fought at Ṣiffīn—that doubt strikes them about ᶜAmmār's status but doubt does not strike them about Ali's status; they argue that for the people of Iraq to have been in the right, ᶜAmmār would have had to have been one of them, but do not

pay any attention to Ali's status. They worry and are concerned about the Prophet's words: "The renegade faction will kill you," but do not worry about what he said about Ali: "O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy," or about his words: "No one but a believer loves you, and no one but a hypocrite hates you."

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd says in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*:

At the Battle of Ṣiffīn, ᶜAmmār Ibn Yāsir spoke to ᶜAmr Ibn al-ᶜĀṣ.

ᶜAmmār told him:

> I will tell you why I am fighting against you and your companions! Surely God's Messenger ordered me to fight against the oath-breakers (*nākithīn*), and I did so. He ordered me to fight against the deviators (*qāsiṭīn*), and you are they! As for the through-and-throughs (*māriqīn*),[134] I do not know if I will live to see them!

ایها الأبتر ألست تعلم ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله قال: من كنت مولاه فعلى مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه؟ وانا مولى الله ورسوله، وعلى مولاى بعدهما.[135]

> Unblessed, do you not know that God's Messenger said: "Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master and be an enemy to whoever is his enemy. I am God's and the Messenger's servant and Ali is my master after them"?

The great traditionist ᶜAllāmah Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī, a scholar of Islam, of the Shiᶜa school, author of *Tafsīr al-Burhān*, *Madīnat al-Maᶜājiz*, *Ghāyat al-Marām*, and other books, says in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, after narrating the hadith via eighty-nine Sunni routes, some of which we have also cited: "The Ghadīr Khumm Hadith has reached the level of indubitability both via Sunni and Shiᶜa routes, such that Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī, the author of the chronicle, cites it via seventy-five routes and has written an entire book on it called *al-Walāyah*, even though this man [Ṭabarī] is a Sunni."

Abū al-ᶜAbbās Muhammad Ibn Saᶜīd Ibn ᶜUqdah has also written an entire book [on it], and cites 105 routes to the Ghadīr Hadith. This is beyond indubitable. There is not a single hadith narrated via as many routes as this one. It should be a a followed principle and a clear path. After telling the story—on Ibn Ṭāwūs' authority—of Abū

al-Maʿālī Juwaynī's seeing volume 28 of *al-Ghadīr* in a book-binder's possession in Baghdad, he says: "Nice story (*ḥikāyah laṭifah*)!"

The Story of Ibn Ghāliyah and the Ḥanbalī Jurist Who Was Shocked by the Shiʿas' Behavior as They Visited Imam Ali on Ghadīr Day

In *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd says that Yaḥyā Ibn Saʿīd Ibn Ali Ḥanbalī, known as Ibn Ghāliyah, a resident of Qaṭfiyā on the west side of Baghdad, and a witness of honorable record there said:

> I was in the presence of Fakhr Ismāʿīl Ibn Ali Ḥanbalī, the jurist known as Ghulām Ibn al-Muthannā. This Fakhr Ismāʿīl was a leading Ḥanbalī in Baghdad, in jurisprudence and different sects (*khilāf*). He also occupied himself with some logic. He expressed himself beautifully. I saw him, attended him, and heard him speak. He passed away in 610.

Ibn Ghāliyah says:

> One day, we were discussing in his presence when a Ḥanbalī came in. He was owed a debt by a Kufan and he had come to him to demand repayment. It so happened that I was present for the Ghadīr Day visit, when that Ḥanbalī man was in Kufa. This visit is on the 18th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, and great hordes of people, too numerous to reckon, gather at the Master of the Faithful's shrine.

Ibn Ghāliyah says:

> Fakhr Ismāʿīl began asking that man: "What happened? Did what is owed to you reach you? Is any of what is due to you still with your debtor?" That person was answering him, eventually saying: "O Master, if you were there on the visit on the Day of the Ghadīr, you would see what scandalous and disgusting things are said and public vilification of the companions in raised voices occurs, without monitoring, and without fear, at Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's grave!"
>
> Fakhr Ismāʿīl asked: "What is their crime? By God, no one but him who is interred there has given them the audacity and opened this door to them."
>
> That man asked: "And who is interred there?"
>
> Fakhr said: "Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib!"

[The man] asked: "Master! Was it he who began that tradition for them, taught it to them, and paved the way for them?"

Fakhr said: "Yes."

The man asked: "Master! So, if Ali was right, why do we follow So-and-So and So-and-So? And if he was wrong, why do we follow him? We either have to dissociate ourselves from him or from the two of them!"

Ibn Ghāliyah says:

[That Ḥanbalī jurist] Ismāʿīl [could not find an answer, so he] stood up quickly, put on his sandals, and said: "May God curse Ismāʿīl if he knows the answer to this question." He then entered through the door of his sanctuary, and we also stood up and left.[136]

Shiʿa Hadiths about the Ghadīr

Blessed Ṣadūq narrates from his father, from Ahmad Ibn Idrīs, from Yaʿqūb Ibn Yazīd, on the authority of Muhammad Ibn Abī ʿUmayr, from Muhammad Qibṭī, that [Imam] Ṣādiq Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad said:

People were heedless of what God's Messenger's said about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib at Umm Ibrāhīm's drinking hole just as they were heedless of what he said on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm.

God's Messenger was at Umm Ibrāhīm's drinking hole, and his companions were with him, when Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib came. They were not cheerful with him, so when God's Messenger saw them not being cheerful with him, he said:

O ye people! This is my Household you are taking lightly, while I am alive and among you! By God, when I am absent from you, God will not be absent from you. Surely refreshment, comfort, joy, and glad tidings are for whoever follows and loves Ali and surrenders to him and the executors among his children. I will have a duty to let them into my intercession, because they are my followers, and whoever follows me is of me, a custom followed in me from Abraham because I am of Abraham, and Abraham is of me. My virtue is his virtue, and his virtue is my virtue, but I am superior to Abraham and confirmation of my Lord's words:

ذُرِّيَّةًۢ بَعْضُهَا مِنۢ بَعْضٍ وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ.

Offspring one of the other; and God is Hearing, Knowing (3:34).

God's Messenger remained and planted his foot in Umm Ibrāhīm's watering hole until the people had repeated it back to him [the order about Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib].[137]

Ṣadūq also narrates via his chain from Wakīᶜ Masᶜūdī, from Salmān Fārisī, may God bless him:

Iblīs, may God curse him, passed by a group of people who were vilifying the Master of the Faithful to each other, so he stopped before them. The people then asked: "Who is it who is standing before us?"

[Iblīs] replied: "I am Abū Murrah" [which is his teknonym].

They asked: "Abū Murrah, do you not hear what we are saying?"

Iblīs replied: "Shame on you! You are vilifying your master, Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib."

They asked: "How do you know he is our master?"

[Iblīs] replied:

From your Prophet's words:

من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، وانصر من نصره، و اخذل من خذله

"Whoever's master I am, Ali is also his master; O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Help whoever helps him, and forsake whoever forsakes him."

They asked: "Are you one of his supporters and followers?" He replied: "No, I am not of his supporters or followers, but I do love him. No one hates him without my becoming his partner in his property and children."

They asked: "O Abū Murrah, shall we say something about Ali?" Iblīs replied:

O ye oath-breakers, deviators, and through-and-throughs! Among the *jinn*, I worshiped God, Mighty and Exalted is He, for twelve thousand years. Then, when God caused the *jinn* to perish, I complained to God about my loneliness, so He raised me to the world's Heaven, and I worshiped God, Mighty and Exalted is He, among the angels in the world's Heaven for twelve thousand years. While

we were glorifying and hallowing God, Mighty and Exalted is He, a radiant light passed by us. All the angels fell down prostrate and said:

سبوح قدوس

"All-Perfect, All-Holy. Is it the light of a favored angel or an envoy prophet?" Lo, the call came from God, Mighty and Exalted:

لانور ملك مقرب، ولا نبي مرسل، هذا نور طينة علي بن أبي طالب[138]

"Neither the light of a favored angel, nor of an envoy prophet. This is the light of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's clay."

Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm narrates from his father, from Ibn Abī ʿUmayr, from Ibn Sinān, from Imam Ṣādiq:

When God commanded His Prophet to appoint the Master of the Faithful for the people in His words:

يا ايها الرسول بلغ ما انزل اليك من ربك «في علي» بغدير خم،

O Messenger! Deliver [at Ghadīr Khumm] *what has been revealed to you from your Lord* [about Ali], and the Prophet said:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه

"Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master," the devils (*abālisah*) came to the greatest Iblīs, great Satan, and spread dust over their faces!

The [greatest] Iblīs asked them: "What is wrong with you?"

They replied: "This man [the Prophet] has made today a pact that no one can unravel until the Day of Resurrection."

Iblīs said to them: "Certainly not. Surely those around him have made me a promise about him that they will not break!" God then revealed to His Messenger:

وَلَقَدْ صَدَّقَ عَلَيْهِمْ إِبْلِيسُ ظَنَّهُ فَاتَّبَعُوهُ إِلَّا فَرِيقًا مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

And certainly Satan found true his conjecture concerning them, so they follow him except a party of the believers (34:20).[139]

In *Tahdhīb*, Shaykh Ṭūsī narrates via his chain from Ḥassān Jammāl:

I took Imam Ṣādiq [as a passenger] from Medina to Mecca, and when we reached the Ghadīr Mosque, he looked at the path to the mountain and said:

This is where God's Messenger's foot was when he said:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه،

"Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master; O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy."

He looked on the other side and said: "And this is Abū So-and-So's, Abū So-and-So's, Hudhayfah's freedman Sālim's, and Abū ʿUbayda Jarrāḥ's place." When they saw him lift his hand, one of them said: "Look at his eyes roll like the eyes of a mad man!" Gabriel then brought down this verse:

وَإِنْ يَكَادُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا لَيُزْلِقُونَكَ بِأَبْصَارِهِمْ لَمَّا سَمِعُوا الذِّكْرَ وَيَقُولُونَ إِنَّهُ لَمَجْنُونٌ۔ وَمَا هُوَ إِلَّا ذِكْرٌ لِلْعَالَمِينَ۔

And those who disbelieve would almost smite you with their eyes when they hear the reminder, and they say: Most surely he is mad. And it is naught but a reminder to the nations (68:51–52).

Then [Imam Ṣādiq] said: "O Ḥassān! If you were not my camel-driver, I would not tell you this hadith."

Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Shahr Āshūb relates from Muʿāwiyah Ibn ʿAmmār from [Imam] Ṣādiq:

When the Prophet said:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه

"Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master," the ʿAdwī[140] said: "No, by God. God has not commanded this. It is nothing but what [the Messenger] is fabricating." Thereafter, God revealed these verses:

وَلَوْ تَقَوَّلَ عَلَيْنَا بَعْضَ الْأَقَاوِيلِ۔ لَأَخَذْنَا مِنْهُ بِالْيَمِينِ۔ ثُمَّ لَقَطَعْنَا مِنْهُ الْوَتِينَ۔ فَمَا مِنْكُمْ مِنْ أَحَدٍ عَنْهُ حَاجِزِينَ۔ وَإِنَّهُ لَتَذْكِرَةٌ لِلْمُتَّقِينَ۔ وَإِنَّا لَنَعْلَمُ أَنَّ مِنْكُمْ مُكَذِّبِينَ۔ وَإِنَّهُ لَحَسْرَةٌ عَلَى الْكَافِرِينَ۔ وَإِنَّهُ لَحَقُّ الْيَقِينِ۔

And if he [Muhammad] *had falsely attributed some sayings to Us We would certainly have seized him by the right hand, then We would certainly have cut off his aorta and not one of you could have withheld Us from him and most surely it is a Reminder for the God-fearing, and most surely We know that some of you are rejecters and most surely he is a great grief to the unbelievers. And most surely he is the True certainty* (69:44–51).

[The meaning of]:

وَإِنَّهُ لَحَسْرَةٌ عَلَى الْكَافِرِينَ

and most surely he is a great grief to the unbelievers is Muhammad, and the meaning of

وَإِنَّهُ لَحَقُّ الْيَقِينِ

And most surely he is the True certainty is Ali.[141]

Muhammad Ibn ᶜAbbās Ibn Māhyār narrates from Fuḍayl Ibn ᶜAbd al-Malik from Imam Ṣādiq:

When, on the Day of Ghadīr, God's Messenger appointed the Master of the Faithful, people divided into three groups.

One group said: "Muhammad has erred."

One group said: "He has gone astray!"

One group said: "He loves him (*yahwāhu*). He is [just] saying so about his Household and his cousin."

Thereafter God revealed these verses:

وَالنَّجْمِ إِذَا هَوَى - مَا ضَلَّ صَاحِبُكُمْ وَمَا غَوَى - وَمَا يَنْطِقُ عَنِ الْهَوَى - إِنْ هُوَ إِلَّا وَحْيٌ يُوحَى.[142]

By the star when it goes down, your companion does not err nor does he go astray; nor does he speak on a whim (al-hawā). *It is naught but revelation that is revealed* (53:1–4).

Shaykh Ṭūsī narrates in *Amālī* via his chain from Zayd Ibn Arqam:

سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله بغدير خم يقول: ان الصدقة لا تحل لي ولا لاهل بيتي. لعن الله من ادعى الى غير ابيه، لعن الله من تولى غير مواليه. الولد لصاحب الفراش وللعاهر الحجر. وليس لوارث وصية. الا وقد سمعتم مني ورايتموني. الا من كذب علي متعمدا فليتبوء مقعده من النار.

الا واني فرط لكم على الحوض، ومكاثر بكم يوم القيامة، فلا تسودوا وجهي. الا لاستنقذن رجالا من النار وليستنقذن من يدي اقوام. ان الله مولاي، وانا مولى كل مؤمن ومؤمنة. الا فمن كنت مولاه فهذا علي مولاه.[143]

I heard God's Messenger say at Ghadīr Khumm:

My Household and I are not allowed [to receive] charity. May God curse whoever claims someone else's father as his own. May God curse whoever serves anyone else but his masters. A child belongs to the master of the conjugal bed, and to the adulterer belongs to be stoned. An [automatic] heir is not entitled to any [special] bequest. Beware! You heard from me and saw me. Beware! Whoever intentionally attributes anything to me falsely should take up his seat in Hell. Lo! Surely I will be ahead of you at the Pool, and through you, I will outnumber [others] on the Day of Resurrection, so do not blacken my face! Lo! I will save people from Hell; and [many] tribes will be saved by my hands. Surely God is my Master, and I am the master of every believer, male and female. Lo! Whoever's master I am, so too is this Ali his master.

The Shaykh also relates via his chain from Sahm Ibn Ḥaṣīn Asadī:

I entered Mecca along with ᶜAbdullāh Ibn ᶜAlqamah; ᶜAbdullāh Ibn ᶜAlqamah was a persistent vilifier of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.

I said to ᶜAbdullāh: "Do you fancy seeing this man [Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī] again?"

He said: "Yes!"

So we went. ᶜAbdullāh asked him: "Have you heard of any achievement of Ali's?"

He said: "Yes! If I tell you, ask the migrants, helpers, and Quraysh; know that God's Messenger stood up on the Day of Ghadīr and delivered. He then said:

ایها الناس، ألست اولی بالمؤمنین من انفسهم؟

"O people, do I not have greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves?"

They replied: "Yes."

He said it three times. He then said: "Come close, Ali!" God's Messenger then lifted [Ali's] hand so [high] that I could see the whiteness of their armpits. He said three times:

من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه

"Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master!"

ᶜAbdullah Ibn ᶜAlqamah asked [Abū Saʿīd]: "Did you hear this from God's Messenger?" Abū Saʿīd replied: "Yes," pointing to his ears and chest, and said: "My two ears heard it and my heart remembered it."

ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Sharīk said:

> When ᶜAbdullāh Ibn ᶜAlqamah and Sahm Ibn Ḥaṣīn had returned from their journey, and when we had performed noon prayers, ᶜAbdullāh Ibn ᶜAlqamah stood up and said three times:
>
> انی اتوب الی الله واستغفره من سب علی
>
> "Surely I repent to God, and seek His forgiveness for vilifying Ali!"[144]

The Shaykh also narrates via his chain in *Amālī* from ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Yazīd from his father:

God's Messenger said:

علی بن أبی طالب مولی کل مؤمن ومؤمنة، وهو ولیکم من بعدی

"Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib is the master of every believer, male and female, and he is your guardian after me."[145]

Also in *Amālī* via his chain from ᶜUmayr Ibn Saᶜd, the Shaykh relates that he heard Ali adjure the people at Ruḥbah:

> Whoever heard God's Messenger say:
>
> من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه،
>
> "Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master; O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy!" should stand up and testify.

Thereafter, a few more than ten people stood up and testified.[146]

Also in *Amālī*, the Shaykh relates via his chain from ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Laylā:

> [My father said:] God's Messenger passed the banner to Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib at the Battle of Khaybar, and God granted him victory over it. He appointed him on the Day of Ghadīr, and he informed the people that [Ali] was the master of every believer, male and female.

وقال له: انت منی وانا منك. وقال له: تقاتل یا علی علی التاویل کما قاتلت انا علی التنزیل. وقال انت منی بمنزلة هارون من موسی الا انه لا نبی بعدی. وقال له: انا سلم لمن سالمك، وحرب لمن حاربك. وقال له: انت العروة الوثقی. وقال له انت تبین لهم ما اشتبه علیهم من بعدی. وقال له: انت امام کل مؤمن ومؤمنة، وولی کل مؤمن ومؤمنة بعدی. وقال له: انت الذی انزل الله فیه: واذان من الله

ورسوله الى الناس يوم الحج الاكبر. وقال له: انت الآخذ بسنتي والذاب عن ملتي. وقال له: انا اول من تنشق عنه الارض وانت معي. وقال له: انا عند الحوض وانت معي. وقال له: انا اول من يدخل الجنة وانت بعدي، تدخلها والحسن والحسين وفاطمة. وقال له: ان الله اوحى الى بان اقوم بفضلك، فقمت به في الناس، وبلغتهم ما امرني الله بتبليغه. وقال له: اتق الضغائن التي في صدور من لا يظهرها الا بعد موتي، اولئك يلعنهم الله ويلعنهم اللاعنون.

And [the Prophet] told him: "You are a part of me and I am part of you." He told him: "You, Ali, will fight people over the interpretation as I have fought them over the revelation." He said: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me." He told him: "I am peace to whoever is at peace with you, and war to whoever is at war with you." He told him: "You are the indissoluble bond." He said to him: "You are to make clear to them whatever is unclear to them after I am gone." He told him: "You are the imam and leader of every believer, male and female, after I am gone." He said to him:

You are he about whom God revealed

وَأَذَانٌ مِنَ اللهِ وَرَسُولِهِ

And an announcement from God and His Messenger (9:3).

And he told him: "You are the follower of my tradition and defender of my religion." He told him: "I will be the first from whom the earth will break away, and you will be with me." He said to him: "I will be at the Pool and you will be with me." He told him: "I will be the first to enter Heaven, and you, Hasan, Husayn, and Fāṭimah will enter it after me." He said to him: "Surely God has revealed to stand up [and proclaim] your virtue to the people, so I stood up [and proclaimed] it to the people and delivered what God commanded me to deliver." He told him: "Beware of the grudges hidden in the hearts of those who will only reveal them after my death; those are they whom God and the cursers will curse."

ثم بكى النبي فقيل: مما بكاؤك يا رسول الله؟ قال: اخبرني جبرائيل عليه السلام عن ربه عز وجل: ان ذلك يزول اذا قام قائمهم، وعلت كلمتهم، واجتمعت الامة على محبتهم، وكان الشاني لهم قليلا، والكاره لهم ذليلا، وكثر المادح لهم، وذلك حين تغير البلاد، وتضعف العباد، والاياس من الفرج، فعند ذلك يظهر القائم فيهم.[147]

Then the Prophet wept, and he was asked: "Why are you weeping, God's Messenger?"

He replied:

> Gabriel told me on the Mighty and Exalted God's authority that these grudges and enmities will disappear when their Executor (Qā'im) rises up, and their word is loud, the nation agrees to love them, despisers of them are few, haters of them are humiliated, and praisers of them are many. That will be when townships change, God's servants weaken, there is despair of salvation. That is when the Executor (Qā'im) will appear among them...

Islam Is Built upon Five Things, One of Which Is the Guardianship

The Shaykh narrates in *Amālī*, via his chain from Mujāshiʿī, via two chains, one from Muhammad Ibn Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad, from his father, Imam Ṣādiq, and the other from Imam Riḍā, from his father, Mūsā, from his father, Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad, all from their forefathers, from the Master of the Faithful:

> I heard God's Messenger say:

بنی الاسلام علی خمس خصال: علی الشهادتین، والقرینتین. قیل له: اما الشهادتین فقد عرفناهما، فما القرینتان؟ قال: الصلاة والزکاة، لا یقبل احدهما الا بالاخری، والصیام وحج بیت الله من استطاع سبیلا، وختم ذلك بالولایة فانزل الله عزوجل: الیوم أکملت لکم دینکم واتممت علیکم نعمتی ورضیت لکم الاسلام دینا.[148]

"Islam is based on five characteristics: the two testimonies [of faith], and the two associates (*qarīnatayn*)."

He was asked: "We know what the two testimonies are, but what are the two associates?"

[The Prophet] replied: "Prayer and almsgiving, neither of them being accepted without the other, fasting and *Pilgrimage to God's House for everyone who is able to undertake the journey to it* (3:97). That is sealed by guardianship. Thereafter, God revealed: *This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion* (5:3)."

The Shaykh also relates in *Amālī* via his chain from Abū Dharr Ghifārī, from Jundub Ibn Junādah:

رأيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله اخذ بيد علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام فقال له: يا علي، انت اخي، وصفي، ووصي، ووزيري، وامين، مكانك مني في حياتي وبعد موتي كمكان هارون من موسى الا انه لا نبي معي. من مات وهو يحبك ختم الله عز وجل له بالامن والايمان، ومن مات وهو يبغضك لم يكن له في الاسلام نصيب.[149]

[Abū Dharr says:] I saw God's Messenger take Ali's hand and say: "O Ali! You are my brother, chosen one, executor, aide, and trustee! You are to me within my lifetime and after my death as Aaron was to Moses except that there is no prophet with me. The Mighty and Exalted God will seal with safety and belief whoever dies loving you, but whoever dies hating you has no share of Islam."

Also in *Amālī*, the Shaykh narrates via his chain from ʿAmr Ibn Maymūn Awdī:

Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib was mentioned in the presence [of the Prophet], so he said: "Any nation who harms him is fuel for Hell."

I heard this sign from Muhammad's companions, including Ḥudhayfah Ibn al-Yamān and Kaʿb Ibn ʿUjrah. Every one of them said:

> Ali has been given what no [other] human has been given. He is the husband of Fāṭimah, the chief of the first and last ladies. Who has seen the like of her or ever heard that anyone has married [a woman] like her among the first and last? And [Ali] is the father of Hasan and Husayn, the two masters of Heaven's youths among the first and last. O people, who has the like of them? And God's Messenger is his father-in-law, and [Ali] is God's Messenger's executor with regard to his family and wives. [The Messenger] blocked off all the doors to the mosque except his door. He was the taker of Khaybar's gate, and the standard-bearer at the Battle of Khaybar. That day, God's Messenger spat in his eyes because he had opthalmia, and he never complained about them after that—he also never suffered from heat or cold after that day.
>
> And Ali is the protagonist of the Day of Ghadīr because God's Messenger extolled his name, imposed a duty upon his nation to accept him as master (*walāyatahu*), made them realize his importance, and explained his status to them, saying:

ايها الناس، من اولى بكم من انفسكم؟ قالوا: الله ورسوله قال: فمن كنت مولاه فهذا علي مولاه.[150]

"People, who has greater authority over you than you have over your own selves?"

They replied: "God and His Messenger."

He said: "Whoever's master I am, so too is this Ali his master."

A Sermon Referring to the Ghadīr Incident, as Delivered by Imam Hasan in Muʿāwiyah's Presence

There is also a hadith from Abū Zādān in *Amālī* concerning a sermon delivered by Imam Hasan to the people in Muʿāwiyah's presence. In [that sermon, the Imam] mentioned his father's virtue and the precedents he set, and what the noblest Messenger had said about him. [He carries on the sermon], eventually saying:

قد تركت بنو اسرائيل هارون وهم يعلمون انه خليفة موسى فيهم واتبعوا السامري، وقد تركت هذه الامة ابي وبايعوا غيره وقد سمعوا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يقول له: انت مني بمنزلة هارون من موسى الا النبوة. وقد رأوا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله نصب ابي يوم غدير خم وأمرهم ان يبلغ الشاهد منهم الغائب.[151]

The Israelites forsook Aaron even though they knew that he was Moses's successor among them, and they followed the Shimronite. This nation forsook my father and pledged allegiance to someone else even though they had heard God's Messenger tell him: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses except for prophecy."

They saw God's Messenger appoint my father on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, and commanded whoever was present there to tell whoever was absent.

The Shaykh also narrates a different wording of Imam Hasan's sermon in *Amālī*, although the meaning is the same. It is via a chain from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Kathīr, from Jaʿfar Ibn Muhammad, from his father, from his grandfather Ali Ibn al-Husayn.[152]

Abū Ḥanīfah Denies the Ghadīr Hadith Even Though He Concedes That the Incident at the Ghadīr Did Take Place

Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Nuᶜmān, known as Shaykh Mufīd, relates via his chain in *Amālī*, from Muhammad Ibn Nawfal Ibn ᶜĀ'idh Ṣayrafī:

I was sitting with Haytham Ibn Ḥabīb Ṣayrafī when Abū Ḥanīfah Nuᶜmān Ibn Thābit came to see us. We mentioned Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and a conversation ensued between us about Ghadīr Khumm.

Abū Ḥanīfah said: "I have told my companions not to concede the Ghadīr Khumm Hadith to them (the Shiᶜa) because they will defeat you in argument!"

Thereupon, Haytham Ibn Ḥabīb Ṣayrafī's face changed, and he asked: "Why shouldn't they concede the hadith? O Nuᶜmān, don't you have it?"

Abū Ḥanīfah replied: "Yes, I have it. It has been related to me."

[Haytham] asked: "So, why do you not concede it when Ḥabīb Ibn Abī Thābit narrated it to us from Abū Ṭufayl, from Zayd Ibn Arqam, that Ali adjured by God everyone who heard him at Ruḥbah?"

Abū Ḥanīfah said: "Do you not see that there was dispute over it, so Ali had to adjure the people?!"

Haytham asked: "Should we disbelieve Ali and reject what he said?"

Abū Ḥanīfah said: "We do not disbelieve Ali or reject what he said, but you know that some people elevate him above his station!"

Haytham said: "God's Messenger says it, delivers a sermon on it, but should we fear and be wary of his just exaggerating or just saying?"[153]

At that moment someone entered who interrupted the discussion with a question. Word spread around Kufa. Ḥabīb Ibn Nazār Ibn Ḥayyan—a confederate of the Hāshimites—was with me, so both of us went to Haytham, and he told Haytham: "I have been informed of what you have said about Ali."

Haytham said: "Even more attention will be drawn to this, so suppress the matter!"

And after that, we went on *ḥajj*. Ḥabīb was with us. We went to see Abū ᶜAbdillāh Jaᶜfar Ibn Muhammad, and we greeted him. Ḥabīb told him: "ᶜAbū ᶜAbdillāh, such-and-such and such-and-such happened." The displeasure on Abū ᶜAbdillāh's face was apparent.

Ḥabīb then said to him: "This [man] Muhammad Ibn Nawfal was present at that [session]."

[Imam Ṣādiq] Abū ᶜAbdillāh then said:

> Ḥabīb, stop! Comport yourself with the people in accordance with their natures and oppose them with your deeds!
>
> فان لكل امرىء ماأكتسب، وهو يوم القيامة مع من احب، لاتحملوا الناس عليكم وعلينا، وادخلوا فى دهماء الناس: فان لنا ايام ودولة يأتى بها الله اذا شآء.
>
> For every man will have what he has earned, and be with whom he loves on the Day of Resurrection. Do not turn people against yourselves or against us! Enter among the masses, for we will have days and a state that God will bring us when He pleases.

Thereafter, Ḥabīb was silent, so [the Imam] asked: "Have you understood, Ḥabīb? Do not disobey my command, lest you regret it!"

And so Ḥabīb replied: "I will never disobey your command."

Abū al-ᶜAbbās [Ibn ᶜUqdah Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Saᶜīd] says:

> I asked Ali Ibn Hasan about Muhammad Ibn Nawfal, and he replied: "[He is] Kufan."
>
> I asked: "Which tribe does he belong to?"
>
> He replied: "I reckon him to be a confederate of the Hāshimites. Ḥabīb Ibn Nazār Ibn Ḥayyān was also a confederate of the Hāshimites. The narration about what happened between him and Abū Ḥanīfah was when the ᶜAbbāsid regime began so they (the Shiᶜa) could not reveal Muhammad's Family's status."[154]

Sayyidah Fāṭimah Zahrāʾs Reliance on the Ghadīr Hadith as Evidence

Ibn Bābawayh narrates via his chain from Maḥmūd Ibn Lubayd in *al-Nuṣūṣ ᶜalā al-Aʾimmat al-Ithnay ᶜAshar*:

> When God's Messenger was taken, Fāṭimah would visit the martyrs' graves, visit Ḥamzah's grave, and weep. One day I visited Ḥamzah's

grave and found her weeping there. I waited for her to fall silent, and then approached her and greeted her by saying: "O chief of the ladies! By God, you have broken the chambers of my heart with your weeping!"

[Fāṭimah] then said: "O Abū ʿAmrah! I am entitled to weep, because I have lost the best father, God's Messenger." She then recited:

اذا مات يوما ميت قل ذكره وذكر ابى قد مات والله اكبر

"When a man dies, he is scarce mentioned; remembrance of my father has died. God is too Great [to be described]!"[155]

I asked: "Mistress! I am going to ask you a question that has been stammering in my heart!"

She said: "Ask."

I asked: "Before his death, did God's Messenger explicitly appoint Ali as imam?"

She said: "How astonishing! Have you forgotten the Day of Ghadīr Khumm?"

I replied: "That indeed happened, but tell me what he told you in private."

She said:

اشهد الله تعالى لقد سمعته يقول: على فيكم خير من اخلفه فيكم، وهو الامام والخليفة بعدى، وسبطاه وتسعة من صلب الحسين ائمة ابرار. لئن اتبعتموهم وجدتموهم هادين مهديين، ولئن خالفتموهم ليكون الاختلاف فيكم الى يوم القيامة.

I call the Exalted God as a witness that I heard him say:

> Out of all of you, Ali is the best [man] I am appointing as successor among you. He is the imam and caliph after my death, as are both his sons, Hasan and Husayn, and nine from Husayn's line, good leaders. If you follow them, you will find them to be rightly guided guides. However, if you disobey them, there will be disagreement among you until the Day of Resurrection!

I asked: "Mistress! So why did he give up his right?"

قالت: یاابا عمرة: لقد قال رسول الله صلی الله علیه و آله: مثل الامام مثل الکعبة اذ تؤتی ولا تأتی۔ او قالت: مثل علی۔ ثم قالت: اما والله لو ترکوا الحق علی اهله واتبعوا عترة نبیهم لما اختلف فی الله تعالی اثنان، ولورثها سلف عن سلف، وخلف عن خلف حتی یقوم قائمنا التاسع من صلب ولدی الحسین، ولکن قدموا ما اخره الله، واخروا ما قدمه الله، حتی اذا الحدوا المبعوث، واودعوه الجدث المجدوث اختاروا بشهوتهم وعملوا برأیهم، تبًّا لهم الم یسمعوا الله یقول: وربك یخلق مایشآء ویختار ماکان لهم الخیرة بل سمعوا ولکنهم کما قال الله: فانها لا تعمی الأبصار ولکن تعمی القلوب التی فی الصدور. هیهات بسطوا فی الدنیا آمالهم ونسوا آجالهم، فتعسا لهم واضل اعمالهم. اعوذ بك من الجور[156] بعد الکور.[157]

She said: "O Abū ʿAmrah! God's Messenger said: 'The Imam [or Ali] is like the Kaʿbah because it is come to but does not go to.'"

She then said:

> By God, if they had left the due to those entitled to it, and followed their Prophet's Family, no two people would ever have disagreed over God the Exalted. Early generation would inherit from early generation, and later generation would inherit from later generation until our Executor, the ninth from Husayn's line, rises up. However, they promoted whatever God demoted, and demoted whatever God promoted, until when they interred the Envoy and put him in the dug grave, they chose on a whim and acted in accordance with their own opinion. Perish them!
>
> Did they not hear God say: *And your Lord creates and chooses whom He pleases; to choose is not theirs* (28:68)?
>
> Yes, they heard, but as God says: *For surely it is not the eyes that are blind, but blind are the hearts which are in the breasts* (22:46).
>
> Alas! They laid out their hopes in this world and forgot their appointed times. So misery to them, and may their deeds stray. I seek refuge in You from injustice (*jawr*) after increase!

The Incident at the Ghadīr Is an Undeniable Historical Fact

The great and eminent traditionist Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī says in *Ghāyat al-Marām* after quoting the Sunni and Shiʿa hadiths: "We content ourselves with this many Shiʿa hadiths because the narrations of

the story of Ghadīr Khumm, by both Sunnis and Shiʿa, are too numerous to mention."

In the section on Ghadīr Khumm, the learned Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Shahr Āshūb says in his book:

> Scholars unanimously accept this hadith, even though they disagree over its interpretation. [The Ghadīr Khumm Hadith] is more widely broadcast and better known than any other hadith and is as clear, plain, and well known as a world-wide historical event. No one but a rejectionist or stubborn fool can deny it.
>
> On which other hadith have more than a thousand Sunni and Shiʿa volumes been written by both early and later scholars?
>
> Ghadīr Khumm is related by Muhammad Ibn Isḥāq, Ahmad Balādhurī, Muslim Ibn Ḥajjāj, Abū Nuʿaym Iṣfahānī, Abū al-Hasan Dāraquṭnī, Abū Bakr Ibn Mardawayh, Ibn Shāhīn Marwazī, Abū Bakr Bāqillānī, Abū al-Maʿālī Juwaynī, Abū Isḥāq Thaʿlabī, Abū Saʿīd Khargūshī, Abū al-Muẓaffar Samʿānī, Abū Bakr Ibn Shaybah, Ali Ibn al-Jaʿd, Shuʿbah, Aʿmash, Ibn ʿAyyāsh, Ibn Salāḥ, Shaʿbī, Zuhrī, Iqlīsī, Jiʿābī, Ibn Bayyiʿ, Ibn Mājah, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, Alkānī, Shurayk al-Qāḍī, and Abū Yaʿlā Mawṣilī via several routes, by Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal via twenty routes, and by Ibn Baṭṭah via twenty-three routes. Ali Ibn Hilāl Muhallabī wrote *al-Ghadīr*, and Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Saʿīd wrote *Man Rawā Khabr Ghadīr Khumm* (*Those Who Narrate the Ghadīr Khumm Hadith*). Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī wrote *al-Walāyah* (*The Guardianship*), a book on Ghadīr Khumm in which he cites seventy routes. Masʿūd Shajarī wrote a book about the hadith and routes to it. In his book, Rāzī puts in alphabetical order the names of the narrators. Abū al-Abbās Ibn ʿUqdah narrates it and says: "I heard Abū Ali ʿAṭṭār Hamadānī say: 'This hadith has been related to me via two hundred and fifty routes.'"
>
> Ibn Shahr Āshūb says:
>
> My grandfather Shahr Āshūb said: "I heard Abū al-Maʿālī Juwaynī express astonishment and say: 'I saw a volume in the possession of a bookbinder in Baghdad. In it were narrations of the Ghadīr Hadith. On it was written "Vol. 28—Some of the Routes to the Prophet's Words 'Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master.'" Vol. 29 follows it.'"[158]

Westernized Sunnis' Stubborn Disapproval of the Ghadīr Hadith

It has now become clear to us that the story of Ghadīr Khumm is a historical fact or given. Denying it is like denying the existence of the midday sun. It is so undeniable that prejudiced contemporary Sunni scholars in Egypt concede it; the only problem is that they believe it

is incompatible with Western democracy, so they do not approve of putting it into practice. They believe that a leader has to be elected democratically by a majority vote.

Ahmad Amīn the Egyptian did not leave a single false accusation against the Shi'a and their publications out of his books *Fajr al-Islām*, *Ḍuhā al-Islam*, and *Ẓuhr al-Islami*. Anyone who has seen these books will know how anti-Shi'a they are—nevertheless, he still concedes and acknowledges the Ghadīr Hadith.

Tafakkur-i Navīn-i Siyāsī-i Islām (*Modern Political Thought in Islam*) says:

> Ahmad Amīn tries by repackaging the characteristics unique to the Household's school (Shi'ism) to simplify a complex discussion on four matters—infallibility, Mahdīism, dissimulation and pre-judgement resurrection—in a comparative study with Sunnism. We note in Amīn's opinions on these four questions, criteria which betray a liberal mentality with a modern flavor. He objects to the Shi'a theory of imamate, not because he does not believe in the reliability of the Ghadīr hadith (for he himself concedes that some Sunni historians acknowledge it), but because he believes it is contrary to modern conceptualizations of democracy.[159]

Shaykh Muhammad Abduh says in *Tafsīr al-Manār* compiled by Muhammad Rashīd Riḍā:

> The hadith "Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master" is narrated by Ahmad in his *Musnad* on the authority of Barā' and Buraydah, by Tirmidhī, Nasā'ī, and Ḍiyā' in *al-Mukhtārah* from Zayd Ibn Arqam, and by Ibn Mājah on the authority of Barā'. Some hadith scholars consider it to be good; Dhahabī considers this wording to be authentic but also considers reliable the chain of transmission of those who add
>
> اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، وانصر من نصره، واخذل من خذله
>
> "O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master and an enemy of whoever is his enemy; help whoever helps him and forsake whoever forsakes him."

One narration says that the Prophet delivered a sermon to the people citing the principles of the religion and enjoining them to look after his Household:

انی قد ترکت فیکم الثقلین: کتاب الله وعترتی اهل بیتی، فانظروا کیف تخلفونی فیهما، فانهما لن یفترقا حتی یردا علی الحوض.

الله مولای، وانا ولی کل مؤمن، ثم اخذ بید علی وقال: من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، وانصر من نصره، واخذل من خذله.[160]

"Surely I have left among you two weighty things: God's Book and my Family, my Household. Watch how you look after them after I am gone because they will not separate from each other until they come to me at the Pool. God is my Master and I am the master of every believer."

He then took Ali's hand and said: "Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master. O God, be a friend to whoever is his friend and an enemy to whoever is his enemy. Help whoever helps him and forsake whoever forsakes him!"

Then, after a brief discussion, he says:

Now we accept and are guided by the Guardianship Hadith from the Day of Ghadīr. We are friends with Ali Murtaḍā and with whoever is a friend [of the Household], and we are enemies of whoever are their enemies. We consider that to be just like love for God's Messenger and believe that his Family never unanimously agree to depart from the Book that God revealed to them, and that the Book and the Family are the Messenger's two successors because there is authentic *Ḥadīth* that says that elsewhere, apart from the story of the Ghadīr. When the Family unanimously agree upon a matter, we accept and follow it, but if they dispute over a matter, we refer it to God and His Messenger.[161]

In spite of all that, because they do not have a spirit of obedience to an infallible imam appointed by God, they still respect and follow Banī Sāʿidah's Saqīfah and the usurpers' regime, and interpret *walāyah* in the Ghadīr Khumm Hadith and all other hadiths as "love" or "help" so as to find an escape out of fear of following the truth. Where do they get that from?

Muhammad Farīd Wajdī, in his encyclopedia *Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif*, speaks of every subject, predicate, history, jurisprudential school, battle, incident, custom, and habit and has a full and comprehensive discussion on everything; he even devotes two full pages to a discussion on cucumbers. He has ten lines on different kinds of cucumbers—long and corrugated varieties; however, he does not say a single word about Ghadīr, God's Messenger's stop at Juḥfah, his sermon, or the Guardianship Hadith! He does not discuss the Ghadīr, or say a word about Khumm; he has not talked about the Ghadīr under guardianship (*walāyah*) or caliphate. The only thing he does say is about Juḥfah: "Juḥfah is a place between Mecca and Medina."

He has a twenty-five-page discussion on the caliphate, addressing the Helpers' meeting under the Banū Sāʿidah's Saqīfah after God's Messenger's death and Omar's, Abū Bakr's, and Abū ʿUbaydah Jarrāḥ's attendance, and the eventual pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr. He discusses all that in detail, but does not even have a single sentence in his encyclopedia on Ghadīr Khumm, or quote any other hadith about the Master of the Faithful's being named successor, aide, master, and executor, as if this is not part of Islam. He has a thirty-seven-page discussion on guardianship and a discussion on Sufi orders and groups, but does not refer to the Guardianship Hadith or the Qurʾanic verse on guardianship, as if our Prophet was like any other prophet and Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib was not part of this nation!

Nevertheless, we note that in various places, he has discussions on the election of the caliph and Islam's democracy, and tries to interpret the Qurʾanic verses, the hadiths, God's Messenger's methodology, and Muslim practice in line with Western democracy! Perhaps by doing so, he thought that he was helping Islam and the Qurʾan, to defend them from the criticism that leaders are appointed [and not democratically elected].

This is in spite of the fact that he concedes that Omar, Abū Bakr, and Othman made mistakes, and is harsh with Othman, holding him accountable for not accepting the Muslims' recommendation to him to resign from the caliphate. Instead he praises Ali. In spite of all this, he clings to his ancestors' beliefs and does not accept true Islam—Shiʿism. Therefore, this verse:

إِنَّا وَجَدْنَا آبَاءَنَا عَلَىٰ أُمَّةٍ وَإِنَّا عَلَىٰ آثَارِهِم مُّقْتَدُونَ

Surely we found our fathers on a course, and surely we are followers in their footsteps (43:23) applies to him and his blind emulation of his ancestors.

When he talks about Islamic sects (*firaq*) under the article "*f-r-q*," he concedes Omar's disobedience to God's Messenger when he ordered an ink-pot and shoulder [bone to write on] on his deathbed. He also concedes [Omar's] disobedience of the order to join Usāmah's army, and admits that it is narrated that Omar said:

من قال: ان محمدا مات قتلته بسيفي

"Whoever says that Muhammad has died, I'll kill him with my sword."

He concedes the Saqīfah, Abū Bakr's assuming the imamate, Omar's pledge of allegiance, and his having said:

الا ان بیعة ابی بکر کانت فلتة وقی الله شرها، فمن اعاد الی مثلها فاقتلوه، فایما رجل بایع رجلا من غیر مشورة من المسلمین فانهما جدیران ان یقتلا.

"Lo, pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr was an error from the evil of which God provided protection. So kill anyone who does the same thing again! [Whenever] any man pledges allegiance to another without consulting the Muslims, both of them deserve to be killed."

And he concedes Fāṭimah's claim for Fadak and Abū Bakr's fighting those who withheld alms. He lists Othman's sins and transgressions one by one, and then says: "All these have happened for the benefit of the Muslims, and the caliphate must be by the people's choice and opinions."

In spite of all that, he says:

وبالجملة کان علی مع الحق والحق مع علی[162]

"On the whole, Ali is with the truth and the truth is with Ali."

So, was this scholar not familiar with the *Ḥadīth*, tradition, and history books? Has he not seen the Ghadīr Hadith in the collections, just a few of which we have referred to here? Can we take one side on the basis of democracy and liberty, and ignore an indubitable hadith and cast it into oblivion?

That which is more certain is that this generation of Muslims fall all over themselves for falsehood and turn away from the truth. Such scholars must be blamed for contaminating authentic history and then presenting it to society in its contaminated form!

What do these abject people who, through intrigue, try to prove that Abū Bakr was democratically elected as caliph, and use it to try to strengthen the basis of their religion, have to say about Abū Bakr's autocratically appointing Omar as successor or Omar's autocratically appointing Othman as successor? Were Omar and Othman appointed in consultation with all the Muslims?

Now it is clear from the above why they have suppressed the Ghadīr Hadith! It leaves no room for doubt or hesitation! As Abū Ḥanīfah said: "I have told my companions not to concede the Ghadīr Khumm Hadith to them (the Shi^{c}a), because they will defeat you in argument!"

So the trick is to hide the Ghadīr Hadith as Bukhārī and Muslim, who do not cite it in their authentic collections, do! That is why their authentic collections are so important to Sunnis; they strengthen the basis of their religion—they are more in conformity with those who ruled than other books are.

Bukhārī and Muslim do not cite any hadiths about the Mahdī, the Executor (Qāʾim) from Muhammad's Family, either. They totally ignore them! However, their other authentic books, by Nasāʾī, Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, Tirmidhī, and Ibn Mājah, do, via authentic chains, relate hadiths on the Ghadīr and the Mahdī from Muhammad's offspring. Furthermore, critical researchers into the Prophet's [biography] and history and even impartial orientalists explicitly state in accordance with Islamic logic that Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib was entitled, but was deprived of his right!

Non-Muslims Have Greater Respect Than Many Muslims for Imam Ali

The Christian George Sajʿān Jordac says:

> Whether you know this man from reality and history or not, history and reality testify that he is a monumental intellect, a martyr and father of the martyrs, Ali Ibn Abi Ṭālib, the voice of human justice and the eternal person from the east.
>
> ماذا عليك يا دنيا لو حشدت قواك فاعطيت فی کل زمان عليا بعقله وقلبه ولسانه وذی فقاره
>
> World, what would it cost you to gather your strength and grant an Ali in every age, with his mind, heart, tongue, and [sword called] Dhū al-Fiqār!

Fuʾād Jordac, the Christian, says: "Whenever I am burdened with difficulties in life, and I want to free myself, I take refuge on Ali's threshold, because he is the shelter for any mournful man; he is like a thunderbolt towards oppressors, and a merciful friend to the broken."

Shiblī Shumayyil, the famous Egyptian materialist, says: "Imam Ali is the greatest man in the world, one of a kind, the like of which neither the East nor the West has ever seen in ancient or modern times."

Enemies of the guardianship and the Household have tried with all their might to erase every trace of the Household. They tried to hunt down and kill every narrator of the Guardianship Hadith. According to them, it was a major crime even mentioning Ali's name; they employed barbaric methods like those of the age of pre-Islamic ignorance and imposed on them an Islam empty of the spirit of mysticism and spirituality and an Islam unlinked to the heavenly kingdom, demanding from them belief in the Prophet but not in Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, and in the Qurʾan without understanding its true meaning.

The situation became so grave that a man called Ali was arrested and taken to Ḥajjāj Ibn Yusuf, who asked him his name. He replied: "My parents have mistreated me by naming me Ali!"

Al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah and *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah* Used to Be Banned

As we have seen, Ibn Ḥajar Haythamī, the author of *al-Ṣawāᶜiq al-Muḥriqah*, criticizes Ibn Qutaybah Dīnavarī, the author of *al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*, for quoting hadiths that cause the companions to be defamed, cause dispute among common people, and draw people's attention to matters that they should not be looking at.

He is known for his status and eminence and his Islamic cultural greatness. Scholars should not state bare facts, because they will become evidence in the hands of common people; it is better, then, for them to present them so as not to corrupt the nation's mind.

When these people and their ilk could find no way to challenge Ibn Qutaybah's eminence or his book *al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*, they broadcast their displeasure under the pretext of concern for the nation's welfare, complaining about and reproaching Ibn Qutaybah. If there had been anything to criticize him about with regard to his eminence or greatness as a historian, they would have used it, or denied that he wrote the book!

Al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah is a Sunni book, peerless in its authenticity and one of the earliest. Its author is Abū Muhammad ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Muslim Dīnavarī (d. 270 AH).

Muhammad Farīd Wajdī says a little about the Saqīfah and continues: "This is just part of what ᶜAllāmah Dīnavarī explains in full in *al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*."[163]

After quoting Abū Bakr's sermon under the Banū Sāᶜidah's Saqīfah, he continues in the footnotes: "We quote this sermon from *al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah* by Muhammad ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Muslim Dīnavarī (d. 270 AH). The book from which we quote the sermon is one of the oldest and most reliable books on matters of the Islamic caliphate."[164]

Because they could not deny what the book says, they banned it. This book, along with *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah* by Qundūzī Ḥanafī, was published a hundred years ago after the spread of the printing press, but both were subsequently banned in the Ottoman Empire (modern Turkey) and Iraq. However, because there were already so many copies in people's possession and in many bookshops and libraries, no one has been able to prevent them from being bought and sold.

There are many matters recorded in *al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*, such as the refusal by the Master of the Faithful to swear allegiance; Zubayr's, Miqdād's, Salmān's, and some others' taking refuge in the house of Fāṭimah; the Master of the Faithful's being taken by force to the mosque; Fāṭimah's going after him; and [the Master of the Faithful's] taking refuge by the Messenger's grave and his asking the Migrants and Helpers for help through Fāṭimah.

Opponents to [Ali's] guardianship have wronged themselves with all the wrong they have done to the station of guardianship and all their efforts to hide [his] appointment as guardian. Ultimately, they have deprived themselves of drinking from the source of truth and have not been guided by the light of the shining sun, like bats deprived of sunlight! If they had not, is there any other way the sun can be hidden and veiled?

شب پره گر وصل آفتاب نخواهد رونق بازار آفتاب نکاهد

"Just because the bat does not want to reach the sun, does that lessen its value or luster?"

In spite of their suffering, those who love the Household and their leadership have always recited poetic praise of their imam, the Master of the Faithful. Some of them, such as Rushayd Hajarī and Maytham Tammār, carried on praising and glorifying from the trees where they were hanged. Poets carried on composing poetry, orators carried on preaching and delivering sermons, and every generation considers itself indebted to the previous one; God be praised and thanked that nowadays, Ali's name is known all over the world, not only in Islamic society but also among non-Muslims. They respect Ali for his greatness and loftiness. His followers, wherever they may be, are proud to belong to his school. On the other hand, his opponents continuously have to cover up their leaders' misdeeds, but history just keeps on uncovering them. However, they should realize that it just makes matters worse, because of all the free analysis, criticism, and discussion there is in the world today.

Kumayt's Poem about the Ghadīr

Kumayt, the poet, has taken a great step in commemorating the history of the Household in his *Hāshimiyyāt*. As his birth was in 60 AH and his death in 126, he was a contemporary of Imam Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn and Imam Bāqir; that is, he lived under the repressive Umayyad regime. He was punished and imprisoned and lived a painful life but did not give up praising the Household and composing poems for them. In his poetry on Ghadīr Khumm, he speaks of the need for the

Household's guardianship and the need to follow them. We now cite some of his couplets:

وَيَوْمَ الدَّوْحِ دَوْحِ غَدِيرِ خُمٍّ أَبَانَ لَهُ الْوَلَايَةَ لَوْ اطِيعَا 1
وَلَكِنَّ الرِّجَالَ تَبَايَعُوهَا فَلَمْ أَرَ مِثْلَهَا خَطَراً مَبِيعَا 2
فَلَمْ أَبْلِغْ بِهَا لَعْناً وَلَكِنْ أَسَاءَ بِذَاكَ أَوَّلُهُمْ صَنِيعَا 3
فَصَارَ بِذَلِكَ أَقْرَبُهُمْ لِعَدْلٍ إِلَى جَوْرٍ وَأَحْفَظُهُمْ مُضِيعَا 4
أَضَاعُوا أَمْرَ قَائِدِهِمْ فَضَلُّوا وَأَقْوَمُهُمْ لَدَى الْحِدْثَانِ رِيعَا 5
تَنَاسَوْا حَقَّهُ وَبَغَوْا عَلَيْهِ بِلَا تِرَةٍ وَكَانَ لَهُمْ قَرِيعَا 6
فَقُلْ لِبَنِي أُمَيَّةَ حَيْثُ حَلُّوا وَإِنْ خِفْتَ الْهُنَيْدَ وَالْقَطِيعَا 7
أَلَا أُفٌّ لِدَهْرٍ كُنْتُ فِيهِ هِدَاناً طَائِعاً لَكُمُ مُطِيعَا 8
أَجَاعَ اللهُ مَنْ أَشْبَعْتُمُوهُ وَأَشْبَعَ مَنْ بِجَوْرِكُمُ أُجِيعَا 9
وَيَلْعَنُ قَدْ أُمَيَّةَ جَهَاراً إِذَا سَاسَ الْبَرِيَّةَ وَالْخَلِيعَا 10
يَمُرُّ بِيَ السِّيَاسَةَ هَاشِمِيٌّ يَكُونُ حَيَاً لِأُمَّتِهِ رَبِيعَا 11
وَلَيْثاً فِي الْمَشَاهِدِ غَيْرَ نُكْسٍ لِتَقْوِيمِ الْبَرِيَّةِ مُسْتَطِيعَا 12
يُقِيمُ أُمُورَهَا وَيَذُبُّ عَنْهَا وَيَتْرُكُ جَدَّهَا أَبَداً مَرِيعَا. 13

1. And on the day of the large trees, the trees of Ghadīr Khumm; [the Prophet] revealed [Ali's] leadership—would that it had been followed.
2. However, the men struck a bargain, and I have never seen a sale as dangerous as it!
3. I do not curse, but in doing so the first of them did an evil thing.
4. Thereby, the closest of them to justice turned to injustice, and the most protective among them [became] a loser.
5. They ignored the command of their leader [Ali], and straightest among them in excellence in adversity, and [they] went astray.
6. They pretended to have forgotten his right and rebelled against him, without any reasonable excuse; even though he was master to them.
7. So tell the Umayyads wherever they may be—even if you fear the sword and the herd:
8. Fie on an age in which I have a truce with and am compliant and obedient to you!
9. May God starve whomever you have sated and sate whoever has been starved through your unfairness.

10. And the one-of-a-kind in his nation is cursed aloud when he rules mankind and *jinn* (*al-khalīᶜā*).
11. With pleasing rule, a Hāshimite, animated and alive for his nation!
12. And a lion on battlefields, unretreating, capable of setting mankind straight.
13. He straightens out their affairs, defends them, and leaves their barren land forever fertile.

Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī says:

[Kumayt related to me:] I saw the Master of the Faithful in a dream and he told me: "Recite your *ᶜayniyyah* ode to me!" I started reciting it until I reached

وَيَوْمَ الدَّوْحِ دَوْحِ غَدِيرِ خُمٍّ أَبَانَ لَهُ الْوَلَايَةَ لَوْ أَطِيعَا[165]

"And on the day of the large trees, the trees of Ghadīr Khumm; then, [the Prophet] revealed [Ali's] leadership—would that it had been followed."

His Holiness stated: "You have spoken the truth!" Then, [the Imam himself] recited this couplet:

وَلَمْ أَرَ مِثْلَ ذَاكَ الْيَوْمِ يَوْماً وَلَمْ أَرَ مِثْلَهُ حَقّاً أُضِيعَا[166]

"I have never seen a day like that day and never seen a right like that breached!"

Bayāḍī ᶜĀmilī says in *al-Ṣirāt al-Mustaqīm*:

Kumayt's son saw the noblest Prophet in a dream. He told him: "Recite your father's *ᶜayniyyah* ode to me!" I started reciting it until I reached "And on the day of the large trees, the trees of Ghadīr Khumm"; then God's Messenger wept profusely and said: "Your father spoke the truth, may God have mercy on him. Yes, by God, I have never seen a right like that breached!"

Kumayt's *Hāshimiyyāt*

It is said that the first ode from the *Hāshimiyyāt* that Kumayt composed was the following:

طَرِبْتُ وَمَا شَوْقاً إِلَى الْبِيضِ أَطْرَبُ وَلَا لَعِباً مِنِّي، وَذُو الشَّيْبِ يَلْعَبُ؟1

وَلَمْ يُلْهِنِي دَارٌ وَلَا رَسْمُ مَنْزِلٍ وَلَمْ يَتَطَرَّبْنِي بَنَانٌ مُخَضَّبُ2

وَلَا السَّانِحَاتُ الْبَارِحَاتُ عَشِيَّةً أَمَرَّ سَلِيمُ الْقَرْنِ أَمْ مَرَّ أَعْضَبُ3

وَلَكِنْ إِلَى أَهْلِ الْفَضَائِلِ وَالتُّقَى وَخَيْرِ بَنِي حَوَّاءِ وَالْخَيْرُ يُطْلَبُ 4
إِلَى النَّفَرِ الْبِيضِ الَّذِينَ بِحُبِّهِمْ إِلَى اللهِ فِيمَا نَابَنِي أَتَقَرَّبُ 5
بَنِي هَاشِمٍ رَهْطِ النَّبِيِّ فَإِنَّنِي بِهِمْ وَلَهُمْ أَرْضَى مِرَاراً وَأَغْضَبُ 6
خَفَضْتُ لَهُمْ مِنِّي جَنَاحِي مَوَدَّةً إِلَى كَنَفٍ عِطْفَاهُ أَهْلٌ وَمَرْحَبُ 7
وَكُنْتُ لَهُمْ مِنْ هَؤُلَاءِ وَهَؤُلَاءِ مُحِبّاً عَلَى أَنِّي اذَمُّ وَاغْضَبُ 8
وَارْمَى وَأَرْمِي بِالْعَدَاوَةِ أَهْلَهَا وَإِنِّي لَاوْذَى فِيهِمْ وَاؤَنَّبُ[167] 9

وقال:

فَمَالِيَ إِلَّا آلَ أَحْمَدَ شِيعَةٌ وَمَالِيَ إِلَّا مَذْهَبَ الْحَقِّ مَذْهَبُ 10
بِأَيِّ كِتَابٍ أَمْ بِأَيَّةِ سُنَّةٍ تَرَى حُبَّهُمْ عَاراً عَلَيَّ وَتَحْسِبُ 11
وَجَدْنَا لَكُمْ فِي آلِ حم آيَةً تَأَوَّلَهَا مِنَّا تَقِيٌّ وَمُعْرِبُ 12
عَلَى أَيِّ جُرْمٍ أَمْ بِأَيَّةِ سِيرَةٍ اعَنَّفُ فِي تَقْرِيظِهِمْ وَاكَذَّبُ 13

وقال:

أَلَمْ تَرَنِي مِنْ حُبِّ آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ أَرُوحُ وَأَغْدُو خَائِفاً أَتَرَقَّبُ 14
فَطَائِفَةٌ قَدْ أَكْفَرَتْنِي بِحُبِّهِمْ وَطَائِفَةٌ قَالَتْ مُسِيءٌ وَمُذْنِبُ 15

وقال:

فَإِنْ هِيَ لَمْ تَصْلَحْ لِحَيٍّ سِوَاهُمُ فَإِنَّ ذَوِي الْقُرْبَى أَحَقُّ وَأَوْجَبُ 16
يَقُولُونَ لَمْ يُورَثْ وَلَوْلَا تُرَاثُهُ لَقَدْ شَرِكَتْ فِيهَا هَكِيلٌ وَأَرْحَبُ 17

1. I was delighted, but not moved by love for fair women, or play by me. Does someone with gray hair play?
2. Neither a home, nor the ruin of a house diverted me, nor was I delighted by the dyed fingertips [of a bride]
3. Nor by fleeting hidden thoughts at night, no matter whether a sound-horned or broken-horned animal passes.
4. But rather by the people of virtues and piety and the best sons of Eve, and good is sought after!
5. By the white group, through love for whom I become close to God in what befalls me,
6. The Banī Hāshim, the Prophet's troop, for I am frequently contented and angry because of them and for them.
7. Out of love, I lowered my wing for them to a fold, both sides of which are a welcome and reception.

8. And I loved them, out of those and the others, even though I was criticized and caused anger.
9. I was targeted and targeted the enemies with enmity, and I am hurt and reproached for [the Household's] sake.

...

10. Therefore, I am a follower of no one but Ahmad's Family, and I have no school except the school of truth.
11. In which book or tradition do you see and reckon love for them to be a disgrace for me?
12. We have found a verse in Ḥā Mīm's Family interpreted by us: pious and made plain.
13. For what crime or by what practice am I rebuked and called a liar for praising them!?

...

14. Have you not seen coming and going, fearing, awaiting!
15. One group calling me an unbeliever for loving Muhammad's Family and another group saying, "Evildoer," and "Sinner!"

...

16. So, if it belongs to no tribes except them, then the kinsfolk are more entitled and have greater priority.
17. They say: "It was not inherited," but if it were not hereditary, then Bakīl and Arḥab would share it.

Lessons One Hundred Two to One Hundred Five

Explanation of the Meaning of the Prophetic Hadith

من کنت مولاہ فعلی مولاہ

LESSONS ONE HUNDRED TWO TO ONE HUNDRED FIVE

In the Name of God, the most Compassionate, the most Merciful

And blessing upon Muhammad and his pure Household, and God's curse on his enemies from now until the Day of Resurrection! There is no power or strength except through the Lofty, Glorious God

The Wise God says in His Glorious Book:

الْيَوْمَ يَئِسَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ دِينِكُمْ فَلَا تَخْشَوْهُمْ وَاخْشَوْنِ الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا.

This day have those who disbelieve despaired of your religion, so fear them not, and fear Me. This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion (5:3).

By the grace of Almighty God, we have completed our discussion on the chain of transmission of the Guardianship Hadith from the Day of Ghadīr Khumm:

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه

"Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master." Now we are going to discuss the meaning of *mawlā* and the meaning of this hadith, and then the nation's duty to obey the Master of the Faithful.

Imam Ali's Poem about the Ghadīr in His Letter to Muʿāwiyah

In *Manāqib*, Ibn Shahr Āshūb quotes Abū al-Hasan Madāʾinī as saying that Muʿāwiyah wrote a letter to the imam, saying:

يا أبا الحسن، إنّ لي فضائل كثيراً: كان أبي سيداً في الجاهلية وصرت ملكاً في الاسلام، وأنا صهر رسول الله وخال المؤمنين، وكاتب الوحي.

O Abū al-Hasan! I have many virtues: In the age of Ignorance, my father was a chief, and I have become a king in Islam. I am God's Messenger's in-law, the believers' maternal uncle[168]—and the scribe of the revelation.

فلمّا قرأ أمير المؤمنين الكتاب، قال: أبالفضائل يفخر علينا ابن آكلة الاكباد؟ اكتب يا غلام:

Then, when the Master of the Faithful had read the letter, he said:

Is the liver-eater's son[169] out-boasting us about virtues? Write, servant:

محمد النبی اخی وصنوی وحمزة سید الشهداء عمی 1
وجعفر الذی یضحی ویمسی یطیر مع الملائکة ابن ای 2
وبنت محمد سکنی وعرسی منوط لحمها بدمی ولحمی 3
وسبطا احمد ولداه منها فایکم له سهم کسهمی 4
سبقتکم الی الاسلام طرا علی ماکان من فهمی وعلمی 5
فاوجب ولایته علیکم رسول الله یوم غدیر خم 6
فویل ثم ویل ثم ویل لمن یلقی الاله غدا بظلمی 7

1. Muhammad, the Prophet, is my brother and twin, and Ḥamzah, the Master of the Martyrs, is my uncle.
2. And Jaʿfar Ṭayyār, who forenoon and evening flies with the angels, is my cousin.
3. And the daughter of Muhammad is my comfort and bride—her flesh connected with my blood and flesh.
4. And Ahmad's two grandsons are my sons by her; so which one of you has a share like my share?
5. I preceded you all to Islam on the basis of my understanding and knowledge.
6. So God's Messenger made me your master on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm.
7. So woe, woe, woe is whoever meets God on the morrow, having wronged me!

When Muʿāwiyah had read the letter, he said: "Tear it up, servant! The people of the Levant must not read it, lest they incline thereby towards Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib!"[170]

We see in these couplets that the Master of the Faithful relies on the Ghadīr Khumm Hadith as evidence and deduces the nation's duty to accept him as master from the [Prophet's] words

من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه

so service to him is incumbent upon the entire nation, which means he is imam, master, and caliph.

The entire Islamic nation accepts this poetry and concedes that it is attributable to him. However, every scholar just takes from these couplets whatever pertains to his own discussion, whether on the in-

law relationship, blood relationship, precedence in Islam, or his appointment as master at Ghadīr Khumm.

Shi'a scholars who have quoted them in their books include the following: Shaykh Mufīd, Karājukī, Fattāl Nīshābūrī, Abū Manṣūr Ṭabarsī, Ibn Shahr Āshūb, Irbilī, Ibn Sanjar Nakhjavānī, Ali Bayāḍī, the second Majlisī (i.e. the author of *Biḥār al-Anwār*), Sayyid Alī Khān Madanī, and Abū al-Hasan Sharīf.

Great Sunni scholars who narrate it include Bayhaqī, who quotes the couplets in their entirety and says: "Everyone who loves Ali should memorize them, in order to realize his feats in Islam."

Others are the following: Ḥāfiẓ Zayd Ibn Hasan Kindī Ḥanafī, Yāqūt Ḥamawī, Muhammad Ibn Ṭalḥah Shāfi'ī, Yūsuf Ibn Muhammad Mālikī (known as Ibn al-Shaykh), Sibṭ Ibn al-Juzī, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, Muhammad Ibn Yūsuf Ganjī Shāfi'ī, Sa'īd al-Dīn Farghānī, Shaykh al-Islam Ḥammū'ī, Abū al-Fidā', Muhammad Ibn Yūsuf Zarandī, Ibn Kathīr Shāmī, Khājah Pārsā, Ibn Ṣabbāgh Mālikī, Khwāndamīr, Ibn Ḥajar Haythamī, Muttaqī Hindī, Isḥāqī, Ḥalabī Shāfi'ī, Shubrāwī Shāfi'ī, Sayyid Ahmad Qādīn Khānī, Sayyid Maḥmūd Ālūsī, Qundūzī, Sayyid Ahmad Zaynī Daḥlān, Muhammad Ḥabībullāh, and Shanqīṭī Mālikī.[171]

Inferences to be Drawn from Ḥassān's and Kumayt's Poetry

And in the couplets of Ḥassān Ibn Thābit, we saw how he interpreted *walāyah* as "imamate" and "leadership"; that is, where he says:

فقال له قم يا علي فانني رضيتك من بعدي اماما وهاديا

"[The Prophet] told [Ali]: 'Ali, stand up! I have chosen you as leader and guide after me.'"

He says, after that:

فمن كنت مولاه فهذا وليه فكونوا له اتباع صدق موالیا

"Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master, so be followers, true servants to him."

That means *walāyah* is conditional upon leading and guiding the nation; there is a concomitance between the two meanings.

Ḥassān Ibn Thābit was a native Arab, so literary people refer to his poetry to ascertain lexicographical meaning and Qur'anic interpretation in their exegeses and books on grammar and eloquence. So how conceivable is it that he would have drawn a conclusion that

was lexicographically incorrect or contrary to ordinary interpretation, he whose word is authoritative and on whose poetry literary people rely as evidence to settle any disputes?

We also saw in the poetry of Kumayt that he understands the *Walāyah* Hadith from the Day of Ghadīr Khumm to mean leadership, imamate, and governance. He says:

ويوم الدوح دوح غدير خم أبان له الولاية لو اطيعا

"And on the day of the large trees, the trees of Ghadīr Khumm, [the Prophet] revealed [Ali's] leadership—would that it had been followed."

Because the duty to obey based on *walāyah* is deduced from God's Messenger's hadith

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه

walāyah means, or rather, *walāyah* is conditional upon, the duty to obey, which is based on Ali's being leader, master, and imam.

Kumayt is another native Arab poet, and like those of Ḥassān, his poems are relied on to understand lexis, Qurʾanic verses, Arabic poetry, and even medicine.

It is inconceivable that a man so precise with the Arabic language, [a man] of such eminence and greatness with the Arabic language and its lexis, would use Arabic words inappropriately, using them where they have never been used. If it were correct to use a word for a meaning that has not been lexically assigned to it, then any poet or preacher would be entitled to do so, without any need for a contextual indicator, and the language would be lost and poetry and other literature would be ruined. There would then be no way for us to understand the meanings of words used by the eloquent!

More poetry composed by the Prophet's companions on the Ghadīr Khumm Hadith and how it refers to the Master of the Faithful's being appointed as imam, and the nation's duty to obey him is written by the loyal friend of the Master of the Faithful, the well-known, great Arab orator, from the tribe of Khazraj, a Helper from Medina, Qays Ibn Saʿd Ibn ʿUbādah, whose biography, intelligence, perseverance, and inclination towards the Household are worthy of detailed research.

When he was returning from the Battle of the Camel, he recited these couplets in front of the Master of the Faithful:

1 قلت لما بغى العدو علينا حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل

2 حسبنا ربنا الذي فتق البحـ ـرة بالامس والحديث طويل

وعلى امامنا وامام لسوانا اتى به التنزيل 3
يوم قال النبي: من كنت مولا ـ ه فهذا مولاه خطب جليل 4
انما قاله النبي على الامة حتما مافيه قال وقيل[172] 5

1. When the enemy rebelled against us, I said: "God suffices us, and what an excellent Protector He is!"
2. Suffices us Our Creator Who split asunder Basra yesterday—a long story.
3. And Ali is our imam and everyone else's imam. Revelation said so
4. On the day when the Prophet said: "Whoever's master I am, so too is this his master," a momentous affair.
5. And the Messenger just told the nation by way of decree. There is nothing to discuss.

In these couplets we see how this great companion, a native Arab, a chief among the Arabs, and son of the Khazraj chief Sa'd Ibn 'Ubādah, considers Ali to be his, and everyone else's, imam. This is the conclusion he draws from the verse

يَا أَيُّهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِن رَّبِّكَ وَإِن لَّمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ

O Messenger! deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message (5:67), after which God's Messenger said: "Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master."

Thus, in pure, native Arabic, *walāyah* either has to mean or be conditional upon imamate for such an inference to be correct.

Ḥimyarī's Poetry and the Inferences to Be Drawn from It

The odes by Sayyid Ismā'īl Ḥimyarī about the Master of the Faithful's guardianship are too numerous to mention; his entire anthology (*dīwān*) consists of praise for the Household and criticism of their enemies. Now, by way of illustration, we quote several of his couplets:

ويحكم اذ قال الاله بعزمة قم يا محمد في البرية فاخطب 1
وانصب ابا حسن لقومك انه هاد وما بلغت ان لم تنصب 2
فدعاه ثم دعاهم فاقامه لهم فبين مصدق ومكذب 3
جعل الولاية بعده لمهذب ماكان يجعلها النبي لمهذب[173] 4

1. When God said strictly at Khumm: "Stand, Muhammad, among the people and deliver a sermon!
2. "And appoint Abū al-Ḥasan [Ali] for your people, for he is a guide, and you will not have delivered if you do not appoint!"
3. So he called him, then he called them and appointed him for them, and [they ranged] between believing and rejecting.
4. He assigned the leadership after him to a refined [person]. He would not assign it to an unrefined [person].

In these couplets, we see that Ḥimyarī refers to the delivery of the appointment of the leader, as revealed by God, as appointment (*naṣb*). *Naṣb* only applies to the caliphate and the imamate, not love or assistance. For example, one says: "So-and-So was appointed (*nuṣiba*) as caliph or master," but not: "He was appointed (*nuṣiba*) to be loved or assisted by the people"! This is just one point; the other is that in the fourth couplet, he says: "He assigned the leadership *after him* [emphasis added] to a refined [person]." Clearly, if *walāyah* meant "love" or "assistance," these are not restricted to after the [Prophet's] death, because both within the Messenger's lifetime and after his death the people had and have a duty to love and help Ali. Therefore, it is only the imamate that was made a binding contract after God's Messenger's death.

Ḥimyarī also says:

لقد سمعوا مقالته بخم غداة يضمهم وهو الغدير 1

فمن اولى بكم منكم فقالوا مقالة واحدوهم الكثير 2

جميعا: انت مولانا واولى بنا منا وانت لنا نذير 3

فان وليكم بعدى على ومولاكم هو الهادى الوزير 4

وزيرى فى الحياة وعند موتى ومن بعدى الخليفة والامير 5

فوالى الله من والاه منكم وقابله لدى الموت السرور 6

وعاد الله من عاداه منكم وحل به لدى الموت النشور[174] 7

1. They heard what he said at Khumm, which is the Ghadīr, in a forenoon when he had gathered them together:
2. "Who has greater authority over you than [even] you?" and they said as one, though they were many
3. All together: "You are our master, and have greater authority over us than we have! And you are a warner to us!"

4. "Your master after me is Ali, and your master is the leader, guide, and aide.
5. "My aide within my lifetime and after my death, and after me, the successor and master.
6. "God is a Guardian to whoever of you accepts him as master, and happiness will face him when he dies!
7. "And God is an enemy to whoever is an enemy to him, and resurrection will befall him after he dies."

In these couplets, Ḥimyarī has been guided by God's Messenger's words "Who has greater authority over you...?" and understands "Whoever's *mawlā* I am..." to refer to the caliphate and being master. That is because after God's Messenger made the people testify to his having greater authority over them, and making Ali's mastery like his own mastery, he organized the leadership and aideship within his lifetime right up until his death approached, and similarly prepared the setting for the caliphate and mastery after his death. Obviously these meanings are deduced from *walāyah*. Otherwise the conclusions drawn would have been incorrect.

Ḥimyarī says:

نفسي فداء رسول الله يوم اتى جبريل يأمر بالتبليغ اعلانا 1
ان لم تبلغ فما بلغت فانتصب النبي ممتثلا امرا المز دانا 2
وقال للناس: من مولاكم قبلا يوم الغدير؟ قالوا: انت مولانا 3
انت الرسول ونحن الشاهدون على ان قد نصحت وقد بينت تبيانا 4
هذا وليكم بعدي امرت به حتما فكونوا له حزبا وأعوانا 5
هذا ابركم برا واكثركم علما واولكم بالله ايمانا 6
هذا له قربة مني ومنزلة كانت لهارون من موسى بن عمرانا[175] 7

1. May I be made God's Messenger's sacrifice for the day Gabriel came down commanding him to deliver publicly:
2. "If you do not deliver, then you will not have delivered," so the Prophet stood up obeying a command from Him Whom he worships,
3. And he said to the people: "Who is your first master?" They replied: "You are our master.
4. "You are the Messenger, and we testify that you have advised sincerely, and explained clearly."
5. "This is your master after me! I have been given strict instructions, so be a party and assistants to him!

6. "This is the kindest out of all of you, the most knowledgeable among you and strongest believer in God among you!
7. "This [man] has closeness to me and is to me as Aaron was to Moses, son of Amram."

Here too, Ḥimyarī says after

من مولاكم

"Who is your master?" and the people's reply

"انت مولانا

"You are our master," "This is your master after me," and concludes from it that the imam was to God's Messenger as Aaron was to Moses, and his being a brother to him was like Aaron's being a brother to Moses, son of Amram.

Clearly, his *walāyah* is after [the Prophet's] death, and caliphate and executorship are two concepts derived from the *walāyah* in the sense of leadership and imamate, not love or assistance.

Qāḍī Tanūkhī says:

وزير النبي المصطفى ووصيه ومشبهه في شيمة وضرائب 1

ومن قال في يوم الغدير محمد ومن خاف من غدر العداة النواصب 2

الا انني اولى بكم من نفوسكم فقالوا بلى ربب المريب الموارب 3

فقال لهم: من كنت مولاه منكم فهذا اخي مولاه بعدي وصاحبي 4

اطيعوه طرا فهو مني بمنزل كهارون من موسى الكليم المخاطب[176] 5

1. The aide and executor of the chosen prophet and his likeness in virtues and character
2. About whom, on the Day of Ghadīr, Muhammad, who feared trickery by the openly hostile enemies, said:
3. "Do I not have more authority over you than you have over your own selves?" They said: "Yes," as suspiciously as a duplicitous suspicious person.
4. He then said: "To whoever I am master among you, this brother of mine is his master and patron.
5. "All of you obey him because he is to me as Aaron was to Moses, the addressee unto whom God spake."

We see in these couplets that Qāḍī Tanūkhī, who is also descended from Yaʿrib Ibn Qaḥṭān,[177] after referring to the hadith "Whoever's master I am," makes the duty to obey the imam like the

duty to obey Aaron, which is futile unless it means imam and imamate.

Inferences Drawable from Sharīf Murtaḍā's Poetry

Sayyid Sharīf Murtaḍā ᶜAlam al-Hudā says:

اما الرسول فقد أبان ولاءه لو كان ينفع جاثرا ان ينذرا 1
امضى مقالا لم يقله معرضا واشاد ذكرا لم يشده مغدرا 2
وسنى اليه رقابهم واقامه علما على باب النجاة مشهرا 3
ولقد شفى يوم الغدير معاشرا ثلجت نفوسهم، وادوى معشرا 4
قلقت بهم احقادهم فمرجع نفسا ومانع انه ان تجهرا 5
يا راكبا رقصت به مهرية اشبت بساحته الهموم فاصحرا 6
عج بالغرى فان فيه ثاويا جبلا تطأطأ فاطمأن به الثرى 7
واقرا السلام عليه من كلف به كشفت له حجب الصباح فابصرا 8
فلو استطعت جعلت دار اقامتى تلك القبور الزهر حتى اقبرا [178] 9

1. As for the Messenger, he made his successor clear; if only it availed an unfair person to be warned.
2. He made a statement without insinuating, and spoke forthrightly without taking any excuses.
3. Their indenture belonged to him, and he hoisted him as a banner prominently atop the gate of salvation.
4. He healed one group on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, their souls cooled, and another group was cured.
5. Their old grudges so agitated them that they held their breath and stifled a groan from sounding out.
6. O rider whom the swift she-camel carried, surrounded by worries, so he took the desert route!
7. Stop over in Gharī [Najaf], settle there; it is because there is a mountain there to which the land bows and is tranquil.
8. Greet him "Peace," from someone who loves him, from whom the veils of the morning were lifted, and who sees clearly!
9. And if I could I would make my permanent abode those brilliant graves until I am interred!

In these couplets, we see that the descendant of the Household, Sayyid Murtaḍā, expresses his affection and love for the Master of

the Faithful, gratefully likens his being Shi'a to being able to see when morning breaks, and the veils of ignorance, wrongdoing, animosity and sickness are torn away to allow acceptance of the truth; and he says: "The Messenger announced his successor. Would that it could benefit an unjust aggressor. The Prophet did not insinuate in what he said, or have any ulterior motive or deception. He established Ali as a gate of salvation. Those who bore grudges held their breath out of spite and envy, not letting their groans sound out." All these are the features and consequences of appointing the imamate as understood by God's Messenger's words

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه

Otherwise, if the greatest Prophet were just giving an instruction to love and help the imam, there would not have been such consequences.

Sayyid Murtaḍā's Remarkable Talent

Sayyid Murtaḍā was so strong in Arabic lexis and literature that people would say: "He is the source of Arabic," i.e., even those whose mother tongue was Arabic should learn Arabic from him.

Sayyid Murtaḍā, his sessions with Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī, and his literary discussions are referred to in catalogues of biographical notes (*kutub al-tarājim*) such as *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*. Shaykh 'Izz al-Dīn Ahmad Ibn Muqbil is quoted as saying: "If someone swears to me that Sayyid Murtaḍā knows Arabic better than the Arabs, I would not blame him."

An Egyptian shaykh is quoted as saying: "By God, I learned matters from Sayyid Murtaḍā's book *al-Ghurar wa Durar* that I have not found in Sībawayh's or any other grammar books."

Whenever Sayyid Murtaḍā's name was mentioned in the class of Khājah Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, he would say: "God's blessings upon him," and then turn to his students and ask: "How can I not invoke blessing upon Sayyid Murtaḍā?"

Ibn Fattāl Nīshābūrī quotes the learned shaykh Ali Ibn Ahmad Fanjkirdī as saying:

1 لا تنكرن غدير خم انه كالشمس في اشراقها بل اظهر

2 ما كان معروفا باسناده الى خير البرايا احمد لا ينكر

3 فيه امامة حيدر وجلاله حتى القيامة يذكر

اولى الانام بان يوالى المرتضى من يأخذ الاحكام منه ويأثر[179] 4

1. Do not deny Ghadīr Khumm because it is like the sun at sunrise or indeed even brighter.
2. What is known to be attributable to Ahmad, the best creature, is undeniable.
3. Thereat was Ḥaydar's appointment as imam, and its beauty and momentousness will be remembered until the Resurrection.
4. The people most deserving of serving Murtaḍā are those who learn laws from him and transmit.

This well-informed, learned scholar was a contemporary of Fattāl Nīshābūrī. He understood *mawlā* to mean "imam and authority on religious laws."

These poems by the greatest poets that we have quoted as evidence of what *mawlā* means are just some of the innumerable odes composed by Arab scholars about Ghadīr Khumm over the past fourteen centuries. It should be enough, God willing, for those who have understanding.

Now let us consider some of the evidence within the account of Ghadīr Khumm that proves that *walāyah* means "imamate."

The Literal Lexical Meaning and Actual Usage of the Words *Mawlā* and *Walāyah*

The first piece of evidence is the word *mawlā* itself in the hadith. *Mawlā* is derived from the infinitive *walāyah*, which means unity between two things and the lack of any impediment to their being united. As we said in vol. 5 of this series *Knowing the Imams*, all the definitions given for *walāyah* and *mawlā* ultimately mean the same thing, and the word *walāyah* was lexically assigned to that meaning without annexation (*iḍāfah*).

Rāghib Iṣfahānī says under the article "*walī*" in *Mufradāt*:

الولاء والتوالي ان يحصل شيئان فصاعدا حصولا ليس بينهما ما ليس منهما.[180]

"*Walā'* and *tawālī* both mean two or more things being such that nothing else comes between them," that is, if anything does come between them, it is part of them, or that which separates them does not exist, so they are united in every sense of the word; or even if there is no unity between them, whatever is between them has to be one of them, not something else.

This is the meaning of *walāyah, walā,* and *tawālī,* and all other words derived from this article, such as *mawlā, awlā, wālī,* etc. The same meaning can be seen in all other forms.

Lexicography also says it means closeness because of the closeness that qualitatively results between two things. Because figurative closeness shares the same features as physical closeness, it is also referred to as *walāyah. Walā'* and *tawālī* are used metaphorically for genealogical closeness, religious closeness, closeness in terms of friendship, assistance, belief, and so on.

Then people began using this word wherever there was true *walā'* in the sense of the lack of any barrier between two things, and the thing referred to was a true instance (*miṣdāq*) of *walā'*. For example, because of the closeness, unity, and commonality between master and slave, both master and slave are referred to as *mawlā.* The same applies to master and servant, bestower and recipient of blessing, emancipator and freedman, confederates, parties to a pact, lover and beloved, helper and recipient of help, cousins, neighbors, and many others. Both parties in each of these relationships are referred to as *mawlā.*

We therefore conclude from the above that:

One: *Mawlā* is not used to refer to each member of each pair, because of the difference between the two; for example master and slave are opposites, like subject and object. On the contrary, they are both referred to as *mawlā* because of the link and commonality between them. The same applies to a helper and recipient of help who are linked together by the concept of help.

Two: *Mawlā, walāyah, walī,* and their derivatives are not used homonymously to refer to as many as twenty-seven meanings. On the contrary, they are applied instances of the true core meaning shared by all of them without regard to the particulars of where they are being applied.[181]

Taftazānī in *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid,*[182] Qūshchī in *Sharḥ al-Tajrīd,*[183] and Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī on p. 611 of his commentary on Qāḍī Ījī's *al-Mawāqif* say that the word *mawlā* has seven different meanings: "emancipator," "freedman," "confederate," "neighbor," "paternal cousin," "helper," and "person with greatest authority to dispose."

Sijistānī ʿAzīzī in *Gharīb al-Qur'ān*[184] and Anbārī in *Mushkil al-Qur'an* cite eight different definitions of *mawlā*: "slave," "master," "son-in-law," "governor," "paternal cousin," "neighbor," "confederate," or "person with greatest authority over a thing."

Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī's Explanation of What *Mawlā* Means

Shaykh Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī cites eleven different definitions of *mawlā* in his exegesis, giving an example for each one. We now cite it verbatim because of the importance of what he says:

> Know that lexically there are eleven kinds of *mawlā*: *mawlā* in the sense of having the greatest claim to, which is the root meaning upon which all the other meanings of *mawlā* are based. An example is the Exalted's words
>
> مَأْوَاكُمُ النَّارُ هِيَ مَوْلَاكُمْ
>
> *your abode is Hell. It has the greatest claim to you* (57:15), i.e. [*mawlākum*] in the sense of *awlā bikum* [having the greatest claim to you]. There is no other possible interpretation. An example of it in poetry is by Lubayd [Ibn Rabīʿah]:
>
> فغدت كلا الفرجين تحسب انه مولى المخافة خلفها وامامها [185]
>
> "The [cow] went both [backwards and forwards] thinking that there was more to fear (*mawlā al-makhāfah*) [both] to its rear and its front"—[*mawlā al-makhāfah*] in the sense of
>
> اولى بالمخافة
>
> (worthiest of being feared [SR: i.e. more to fear]). There is no disagreement among lexicographers over this matter.
>
> Another meaning of *mawlā* is the master of a slave. An illustration is God's words:
>
> ضرب الله مثلا عبدا مملوكا لا يقدر على شيء ـ الى قوله:
> وهو كل على مولاه يعني على مالكه
>
> *God sets forth a parable: (consider) a slave, the property of another, (who) has no power over anything...and he is a burden to his* mawlā (16:75–76) i.e. to his master.
>
> The third meaning is
>
> معتق
>
> "emancipator," and the fourth is
>
> معتَق
>
> "freedman." Similarly both God and His unemancipated slave are called *mawlā*, which is another kind. This kind needs no illustrations because it is well known. This makes five kinds. An example of freedman may be
>
> ادعوهم لآبائهم هو أقسط عند الله فإن لم تعلموا آباءهم فإخوانكم في الدين ومواليكم.

Assert their relationship to their fathers; this is more equitable with God; but if you do not know their fathers, then they are your brethren in faith and your freedmen (33:5).

And the sixth meaning is "paternal cousin." As the poet says:

مهلا بنی عمنا مهلا موالینا لا تنبشوا میتنا ماکان مدفونا

Slowly, sons of our paternal uncles! Slowly, our cousins! Do not disinter a dead body of ours once it has already been buried.

The seventh is "helper," as the Exalted says:

ذٰلِكَ بِأَنَّ اللّٰهَ مَوْلَى الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَأَنَّ الْكَافِرِينَ لَا مَوْلَىٰ لَهُمْ ای لا ناصر لهم.

...that is because God is the Helper of those who believe, and because the unbelievers shall have no helper for them (47:11).

The eighth is a *mawlā* who indemnifies wrongdoing. For example, a man frees a slave, but absolves himself of any indemnity of [the freedman's] wrongdoing and *walā'* (indemnity) of him. He says: "I am not accountable for whatever good or evil he does," and [the emancipated slave] is called a freedman (*sā'ibah*). He goes away and serves someone [else], and that person indemnifying his wrongdoing and being a priority heir. The person is called a *mawlā*.

The ninth is "confederate." As the poet says:

موالی حلف لا موالی قرابة ولکن قطینا یأخذون الاتاوی

Confederates through a pact, not related by blood, but residents who take land tax.

Another one says:

موالیکم مولی الولایة منکم ومولی الیمین حابس قد تقسما.

Your confederates are most deserving of help from you, [each] confederate being bound by [their pact to] share [assistance].

The tenth is a neighbor. As the poet says:

هم خلطونی بالنفوس والجموا الی اصل مولاهم مسومة جردا.

They only helped me with infantry (*nufūs*), but bridled a detachment of horses along with their riders for their actual neighbor.

The eleventh is a master who must be obeyed, chief, imam, or whoever else falls into this category.

Whoever ponders over all these kinds will discover that they all ultimately mean having the greatest claim to, because God has the greatest claim to His servant, and His servant has the greatest claim to God; the emancipator has the greatest claim to the freedman, and the freedman has the greatest claim to the emancipator; a neighbor has the greatest claim to his neighbor, a confederate has the greatest claim to his fellow confederate, a helper has the greatest claim to the recipient of help; a cousin has the greatest claim to his cousin; the same is true of someone who indemnifies wrongdoing. They all have greater claim over that other than anyone else does, who has no such claim. Thus, the correct meaning is to have the greatest claim, and this meaning is the appropriate one here.[186]

Sibṭ Ibn Juzī's Explanation of What *Mawlā* Means

Sibṭ Ibn Juzī gives all the same aforementioned definitions as Abū al-Futūḥ except "master" and "unemancipated slave," making a total of ten possible definitions, the tenth of which is the best. He illustrates each one with poetry or Qur'anic verses. He then says:

> Only the tenth possible definition—the best one—is correct in the Ghadīr *Walāyah* Hadith. It means
>
> من كنت اولى به من نفسه فعلى اولى به
>
> "Over whomever I have greater claim than he has over his own self, so too does Ali have greater claim."

Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Faraj Yaḥyā Ibn Sa'īd Thaqafī Iṣfahānī explicitly states the same in *Maraj al-Baḥrayn* because he relates this hadith via his chain of narration back to his teachers and says:

> God's Messenger took Ali's hand and said:
>
> من كنت وليه واولى به من نفسه فعلى وليه
>
> "Whoever's master I am and over whom I have greater claim than he does over his own self, [so too] is Ali his master."

So it is clear that all the definitions are ultimately the same as the tenth one. God's Messenger's words also prove this:

ألست اولى بالمؤمنين من انفسهم؟

"Do I not have greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves?"

So, these words clearly confirm his imamate and the duty to obey him, as do his words

وأدر الحق معه حيثما دار وكيفما دار

"[O God!] And steer the truth with [Ali] wherever he turns and however he turns!"

The nation unanimously agrees that he did indeed say this.

Do you not realize that scholars only deduce the laws on rebels from the Battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn?[187]

Muhammad Ibn Ṭalḥah Shāfiʿī says after citing the Guardianship Hadith at the Ghadīr and the background to the revelation of the delivery verse—quoting *Asbāb al-Nuzūl* by al-Wāḥidī—and citing thirty-seven possible definitions of the word *mawlā*:

God's Messenger's words at Ghadīr Khumm

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه

"Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master" include the word

من

("whoever"), meaning everybody. Thus, it means any person whose master is God's Messenger, so too is Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib his master. It also includes the word *mawlā*, a word used with several possible meanings in the Qur'an. Sometimes it means

اولى

—"to have greatest claim to something." God says about the hypocrites:

مَأْوَاكُمُ النَّارُ هِيَ مَوْلَاكُمْ

your abode is Hell. It is your mawlā (57:15), meaning it has the greatest claim to you.

Sometimes it means "helper"; God says:

ذَٰلِكَ بِأَنَّ اللَّهَ مَوْلَى الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَأَنَّ الْكَافِرِينَ لَا مَوْلَىٰ لَهُمْ

That is because God is the Mawlā *of those who believe, and because the unbelievers shall have no* mawlā *for them* (47:110), meaning "helper."

Sometimes it means "heir"; God says:

وَلِكُلٍّ جَعَلْنَا مَوَالِيَ مِمَّا تَرَكَ الْوَالِدَانِ وَالْأَقْرَبُونَ.

And to everyone We have appointed mawāliya *of what parents and near relatives leave* (4:33), meaning, "We have appointed heirs for everyone."

Sometimes it means

عصبة

i.e. "relatives on the father's side." God quotes Zechariah as saying:

وَإِنِّي خِفْتُ الْمَوَالِيَ مِنْ وَرَائِي

And surely I fear the mawāliya *after me* (19:5), meaning "relatives on my father's side."

Sometimes it means "friend or intimate." God says:

يَوْمَ لَا يُغْنِي مَوْلًى عَنْ مَوْلًى شَيْئًا.

The day on which a mawlā *shall not avail (his)* mawlā *aught* (44:41), meaning an intimate shall not avail his intimate, a friend shall not avail his friend, and a relative shall not avail his relative!

Sometimes it is used for both the emancipating master and his freedman. Now, because *mawlā* can mean any of these, which of them should it be construed as—as

اولى

"worthiest of," as one group interprets it, or as "a close friend"? Therefore, the hadith means "Over whomever I have greatest authority, or whoever's helper, heir, paternal relative, intimate, or friend I am, so too is Ali."

This explicitly confers this illustrious trait upon Ali, making him like the Prophet to anyone to whom the word

من

refers [i.e. "whoever" or "whomever"].

And let it be known that this hadith is one of the secrets of God the Exalted's words, in the Prayer Duel Verse:

فَقُلْ تَعَالَوْا نَدْعُ أَبْنَاءَنَا وَأَبْنَاءَكُمْ وَنِسَاءَنَا وَنِسَاءَكُمْ وَأَنْفُسَنَا وَأَنْفُسَكُمْ.

Come let us call our sons and your sons and our women and your women and ourselves and yourselves (3:61).

> Here, God's Messenger's self means Ali's self because in this verse, God refers to Ali as His Messenger's self using a plural annexed to His Messenger's self.
>
> In the Ghadīr Khumm Guardianship Hadith, God's Messenger made what was true of himself with regard to all believers true of Ali, because the Prophet had greatest authority over the believers, and was the believers' master and helper. He made any sense of *mawlā* that was true of himself true of Ali.
>
> It is the highest level, position, and status conferred by the Prophet exclusively on Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib; that is why the Day of Ghadīr Khumm is a festival and day of joy for the followers of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib.

Ibn Ṭalḥah then explains in detail, with a useful discussion on the hadiths that refer to the Master of the Faithful's status.[188]

We cited above the sixteen possible definitions of the word *mawlā* as given by Ibn Athīr Jazarī in *al-Nihāyah*.[189] The other sense of

اولی

["worthiest or having the greatest authority"] brings the total to seventeen.

Twenty-Seven Definitions of the Word *Mawlā*, and the Sense in Which It Is Used in the Ghadīr Hadith

ʿAllāmah Amīnī says that there are twenty-seven possible definitions of the word *mawlā*:

1. رَب (Lord)
2. عم (paternal uncle)
3. ابن عم (paternal cousin)
4. ابن (son)
5. ابن اخت (nephew)
6. معتِق (one who releases the slave)
7. معتَق (freedman)
8. عبد (slave)
9. مالك (owner)
10. تابع (follower)

11. منعَم عليه (recipient of blessing)

12. شريك (partner)

13. حَليف (confederate)

14. صاحب (owner, boss, or companion)

15. جار (neighbor)

16. نزيل (a new settler in a caravan or tribe)

17. صِهر (son-in law)

18. قريب (relative)

19. منعِم (bestower of blessings)

20. عَقيد (party to a contract)

21. ولى (master)

22. أولى بالشيء (worthiest of something)

23. سيّد غير مالك وغير معتق (master who is neither owner nor emancipator)

24. محب (lover)

25. ناصر (helper)

26. متصرّف فى الامر (having the authority to dispose)

27. متولّى فى الامر (charged with responsibility for an affair)

He then has a discussion on why only some but not all of these meanings are applicable to the Guardianship Hadith. A summary of that discussion follows:

One: "Lord" cannot be the intended meaning of *mawlā* in the prophetic hadith, because it would be blasphemy. It cannot mean any of two to thirteen, because they are false; it is not true that whoever's uncle, emancipator, owner, partner, confederate, or contractor the Prophet was, so too was Ali. Fourteen to eighteen, i.e. "owner," "boss," or "companion," "neighbor," "client," "son-in-law," or "relative" cannot be the intended meaning either, because that would make nonsense out of an important sermon.

There would have been no sense in God's Messenger's order to that huge crowd, in the middle of their journey in that hot weather,

to stop and gather in one place—the frontrunners coming back and the stragglers catching up—in obedience of a divine command, to stop them all in one place, sit them in the sun to listen to his sermon, part of their robes spread on the hot sand and the other part over their heads to shade them from the heat, their making a pulpit out of camels' saddlebags stacked on top of each other and the Messenger's climbing onto it to deliver a sermon to the gathering, saying his time to die had been announced to him and he was charged with delivering important news that he feared he would not otherwise have the opportunity to do because of his imminent death, [news] of great importance, both religious and worldly—only for him to tell them something pointless, such as "Whoever's companion, neighbor, guest, in-law, or relative I am, so too is Ali."

This is not something even a feeble-minded person would do, let alone the first intellect, the Perfect Man, the Prophet of Mercy. So it is despicable to impute any such meaning of *mawlā* to the Prophet.

Even if hypothetically one of these meanings was intended, then of what merit would it be to the Master of the Faithful to be congratulated by that enormous crowd with utterances of "Bravo, bravo," and for Saʿd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ to say in his hadith that he would have preferred this honor to all the red camels there have ever been, the whole world, and everything in it, even if he had been blessed with miraculous longevity like Noah's?

"Bestower of blessing" or "party to a treaty" cannot be the intended meaning of *mawlā* in the hadith either, because it does not necessarily follow that every recipient of the Prophet's blessing would be a recipient of Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's blessing, or that any confederate of God's Messenger's would be a confederate of Ali's. It could only mean that in the sense that every recipient of the Prophet's blessing by way of religion, guidance, correction, direction, power in this world, and salvation in the Hereafter is the recipient Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's similar blessing. This is because he takes his place, defending his religious law, delivering and proclaiming his religion. Hence, God perfected His religion and completed His favor through him. In that case, it does not depart from the sense of imamate and guardianship, which we are in the process of proving to be the correct interpretation.

Our interpretation of

عَقيد

is "a party to a peace or mutual assistance treaty," such as those entered into by the Prophet with some of the tribes. After God's Messenger's death, the Master of the Faithful was to take his place as

party to these treaties to maintain order in the government and to rule. As such, there is no contradiction between this and *walāyah* in the sense of guardianship and imamate.

The prophetic hadith cannot be referring to

محبّ

"someone who loves" or

ناصر

"helper," either, because if

من كنت محبه او ناصره فعلي ناصره او محبه

"whomever I love or help, so too does Ali love or help" is supposed to be declarative (*ikhbār*) or performative (*inshā'*) of the believers' duty to love and help Ali, it is actually declarative or performative of *Ali's* duty to love or help anyone whom the Prophet loves or helps. The Prophet would have told Ali in secret or written it on a piece of paper and handed it to him rather than announcing it in front of such a large congregation, unless the purpose of the sermon and the crowd's listening to it was to encourage people to love Ali and realize that the Master of the Faithful was on the same level as God's Messenger, and loved them and was their helper. Therefore, they had a duty to follow him, not to disobey his command, and never to object to him.

Because God's Messenger began by saying: "Whoever's *mawlā* I am," we know that even if [the intended meaning of *mawlā* was "someone who loves," or "helper"] the Prophet only meant that whatever level of love he had or assistance that he rendered to the believers, Ali had the same level of love and rendered the same level of assistance.

Because this kind of love and assistance was to be like that which the Prophet had or provided, it could only be as chief of the religion and the world, the man in charge, and the defender of their very existence. This is exactly what having greater authority over them than they have over their own selves means. Otherwise, fierce wolves, wild animals, and stubborn opponents would ruin Islamic society. Enemies would disturb the Muslims in every possible way, start looting their property, and defile what God says is sacred. There and then, Islam would be distorted. Of course, the only person who loves and assists enough to prevent all this is God's caliph on earth, the successor to His Messenger, and this is what the supreme divine guardianship truly means.

If the hadith is declarative or performative of the Muslims' duty to love or assist Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, it means: "Whomsoever I love and assist loves and assists Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib or has a duty to be the friend and assistant of Ali." If that is the case, it is not new information, so there is no need to gather everyone together to listen to a sermon. Because the Master of the Faithful is one of the believers, everyone loves him or should love him in accordance with the verses of the Qur'an.

Moreover, if the hadith is supposed to be performative or declarative of the Muslims' duty to love and help the Master of the Faithful, it should say:

من کان مولای فهو مولی علی

"Whoever loves or helps me should love or help Ali." However, the meaning of *mawlā* is "someone who loves," or "a helper," not "a beloved or recipient of help." That is why the hadith cannot be interpreted as such. Sibṭ Ibn Juzī may have noticed this because he says in *Tadhkirah*, p. 19: "In this hadith, *mawlā* cannot be interpreted as 'helper.'"

Besides, the Muslims' duty to love and assist is not a duty to love and assist the Master of the Faithful exclusively; Muslims should love and help all fellow believers in need. Why single out the Master of the Faithful? If what is meant is more love for and assistance to than the rest of the flock, such as a duty to follow and obey orders and surrender to him, this means he is the Proof and the imam, especially after what is due the Prophet has been made due to him in the hadith

من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه

To draw a distinction between the two in a single thread is incorrect.

So far, we have discussed twenty-two out of the twenty-seven possible definitions of the word *mawlā*, but none of them can be the intended meaning of *mawlā* in the Guardianship Hadith. That just leaves five other possibilities:

1. ولی (one who exercises power)
2. أولی بالشیء (someone who is worthier of something)
3. سیّد (master, but not in the sense of owner or emancipator)
4. متصرّف فی الامر (imbued with the right of disposal of all affairs)
5. متولّی فی الامر (guardian).

سيّد

(master) must mean

أولى

—someone with greater authority in the sense of overall religious supremacy in the nation of Islam, because it would make no sense for the noblest Messenger, who had divine sovereignty, to give his cousin sovereignty by force and through oppression.

To be imbued with the right of disposal of all affairs must refer to a divinely given spiritual right of disposal, which goes hand in hand with being the chief and master appointed by God. Most people interpret being imbued with the right of disposal of all affairs as being master. For example, Fakhr Rāzī, in his exegesis of the blessed verse

وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِاللَّهِ هُوَ مَوْلَاكُمْ

...and cling to God; He is your Mawlā (22:78), says: "Qaffāl says: '*He is your* Mawlā means He is your master and disposes of your affairs.'"

Saʿīd Ḥalabī, the Muftī of Asia Minor (*al-Rūmī*), and Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad Khafājī both say the same in their commentaries on *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī*. *Al-Ṣawāʿiq* says that it is one of the literal meanings. Kamāl al-Dīn Jahrumī follows suit in *Tarjamat al-Ṣawāʿiq*, as does Muhammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Rasūl Birzanjī in *Nawāqiḍ*, and Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq in *Lamʿāt*.

Hence, *mawlā* here means the disposer of affairs appointed by God Exalted to be followed upwards by mankind; he is worthier than anyone else of disposing of human society's affairs. He can be none other than an envoy prophet, or imam who must be obeyed, appointed by that Prophet pursuant to Divine Command.

The same applies to

متولّى

(guardian), because he has to have divine right to be in charge of all people's affairs and steer them towards perfection.

Abū al-ʿAbbās Mubarrid lists

متولّى

as one of the literal meanings of *mawlā*. As God says:

بِأَنَّ اللَّهَ مَوْلَى الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا

That is because God is the Guardian (Mawlā) *of those who believe* (47:11). *Walī* and *mawlā* both mean the same thing. Abū al-Ḥasan Wāḥidī, in his exegesis *al-Wasīṭ*, and Qurṭubī in his exegesis both say regarding

بل الله مولاكم

Nay, God is your Mawlā that *Mawlā* means Guardian. Ibn al-Athīr in *al-Nihāyah*, Zubaydī in *Tāj al-ᶜArūs*, and Ibn Manṣūr in *Lisān al-ᶜArab* all give the same definition of *Mawlā*, and say:

> An example is the prophetic hadith
>
> ایما امرأة نکحت بغیر اذن مولاها فنکاحها باطل
>
> "The marriage of any woman who marries without the permission of her *mawlā* is void," or according to another hadith, "without the permission of her *walī*," i.e. her guardian.

Bayḍāwī gives [this definition, i.e. guardian] in three places in his exegesis:

قُلْ لَنْ يُصِيبَنَا إِلَّا مَا كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَنَا هُوَ مَوْلَانَا وَعَلَى اللَّهِ فَلْيَتَوَكَّلِ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ

Say: Nothing will afflict us save what God has ordained for us; He is our Mawlā [Guardian]; *and on God let the believers rely* (9:51).

وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِاللَّهِ هُوَ مَوْلَاكُمْ

and cling to God; He is your Mawlā [Guardian] (22:78).

وَاللَّهُ مَوْلَاكُمْ

...and God is your Mawlā [Guardian] (66:2).

Abū al-Saᶜūd ᶜImādī, in his exegesis of verses

وَاللَّهُ مَوْلَاكُمْ

God is your Mawlā (66:2) and

هِيَ مَوْلَاكُمْ

it [Hell] is your mawlā (57:15) interprets *mawlā* as guardian. And Rāghib Iṣfahānī also interprets it the same way.

Ahmad Ibn Hasan Zāhid Darwājakī says in his exegesis:

المولى فى اللغة من يتولى مصالحك فهو مولاك يلى القيام بامورك وينصرك على اعدائك

"*Mawlā* lexically means someone who is in charge of your welfare and is thus your guardian, taking charge of your affairs and helping you against your enemies! Therefore, a cousin and emancipator are called *mawlā*. It then became a noun to refer to someone who adheres to something without ever separating from it."

Zamakhsharī in *al-Kashshāf*, Abū al-Abbās Ahmad Ibn Yūsuf Shībānī in *Talkhīṣ al-Kashshāf*, and Nasafī in his exegesis say with reference to

انت مولانا

You are our Mawlā, and Nīsābūrī in *Gharā'ib al-Qur'ān,* with reference to

انت مولانا

You are our Mawlā

فاعلموا ان الله مولاكم

then know that God is your Mawlā (8:40) and

هي مولاكم

it is your mawlā (57:15) all say that *mawlā* means "guardian."

Suyūṭī follows suit in *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn,* interpreting *Mawlā* in

انت مولانا

as *You are our* Mawlā, and in

"فاعلموا ان الله مولاكم

...then know that God is your Mawlā (8:40), and:

قل لن يصيبنا الا ما كتب الله لنا هو مولانا

Say: "Nothing will afflict us save what God has ordained for us; He is our Mawlā" (9:51) as "Guardian."

This was a discussion about several definitions of *mawlā;* we have learned that *walāyah* in the prophetic hadith means nothing but being master to all, the divine imamate, and that the entire Islamic nation is in the greatest Prophet's hands.

Furthermore, we believe after having plunged into the depths of lexicography and literary and Arabic encyclopedias that the true meaning of *mawlā* is "that which has greatest claim to another thing"; it is the only meaning—all the others are derived somewhat metaphorically from this one. This meaning—"that which has greatest claim to [something]"—only differs according to the context in which the word is being used. Ibn Biṭrīq, a renowned sixth-century Shi'a scholar, beat us to this conclusion in *al-'Umdah,* and a number of Sunni scholars appear to agree.

One reason is that the first meaning that springs to mind when the word *mawlā* is uttered is "he who has greatest claim to something," as evidenced by what Muslim relates from the Prophet in *Ṣaḥīḥ*:

لا يقل العبد لسيده مولاى

"A slave should not call his master 'my *mawlā*!'"

He adds in Abū Muʿāwiyah's hadith:

فان مولاکم الله

"...because your *Mawlā* is God!"

Many leading traditionists cite it in their books.[190]

Shaykh Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī says:

In the hadith

من کنت مولاه فعلی مولاه

the only possible meaning of *mawlā* is

اولی

"he who has greatest authority over" and "master who must be obeyed," as Akhṭal says about ʿAbd al-Mālik Ibn Marwān. Akhṭal was a Christian, so he cannot be accused of having an ulterior motive or sympathizing with this school of thought and its followers. Furthermore, the recipient of his praise [ʿAbd al-Mālik] was a staunch enemy of the Household; he said:

فما وجدت فیها قریش لاهلها اعف واوفی من ابیك وامجدا 1

وأوری بزندیه ولو کان غیره غداة اختلاف الناس اکدی واصلدا 2

فاصبحت مولاها من الناس کلهم واحری قریش ان یجاب ویحمدا 3

1. The tribe of the Quraysh could not find for their people anyone more decent, loyal, and noble than your father.
2. He kindled fire with the sticks of his fire-drill; had it been anyone else, people's deprivation would have been worse and harder.
3. You then became everybody's *mawlā*, and the most deserving among the Quraysh to be acceded to and praised.[191]

By *mawlā*, he means "master" or "he who has greatest authority." An example of poetry that explicitly declares the Master of the Faithful to be imam and master, deducing as much from the word *mawlā*, is the long ode by ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ in response to Muʿāwiyah's letter to him, inviting ʿAmr to come and help him. ʿAmr's long reply recounts the virtues of the Master of the Faithful. He is telling Muʿāwiyah that he knows that he wants to cause trouble between Ali and him. He says that the remuneration must be commensurate with the enormity of opposing such a great man. In any event, the couplets that prove our claim are the following:

وكم قد سمعنا من المصطفى وصايا مخصصة فى على 1
وفى يوم خم رقى منبرا وبلغ والصحب لم ترحل 2
فامنحه امرة المؤمنين من الله مستخلف النحل 3
وفى كفه كفه معلنا ينادى بأمر العزيز العلى 4
وقال: فمن كنت مولى له على له اليوم نعم الولى[192] 5

1. Oh, how many directions we heard from the Chosen One exclusively about Ali!
2. And on the Day of Ghadīr Khumm, he climbed atop a pulpit and preached before the companions had departed.
3. He then gave him command of the believers, by God's [command] putting him in charge of the hive
4. His hand in his, calling out the Mighty's, the High's, command
5. He said: "Whoever's master I am, today [onwards] Ali is his excellent master."

Poetry about the Ghadīr by Abū Tamām al-Ṭā'ī and ʿAbdī Kufī

The famous second- to third-century Arab poet Abū Tamām says about this matter:

ويوم الغدير استوضح الحق اهله بضحياء لا فيها حجاب ولا ستر 1
اقام رسول الله يدعوهم بها ليقربهم عرف ويناهم نكر 2
يمد بضبعيه ويعلم انه ولى ومولاكم فهل لكم خبر 3
يروح ويغدو باليان لمشر يروح بهم غمر ويغدو بهم غمر 4
فكان لهم جهر باثبات حقه وكان لهم فى بزهم حقه جهر[193] 5

1. And on the Day of Ghadīr, the truth became clear to the righteous on a bright day without cover or cast.
2. God's Messenger undertook to call them on it, that right might come close to them, forbidding them to do wrong.
3. He lifted up Ali's arms, showing "He is your master and guardian! So do you know?"
4. Evening and morning he would explain to people who were in darkness in the evening and in darkness in the morning!
5. They had public confirmation of his right, and they were public in stealing his right back!

ʿAbdī Kūfī, a poet to the Household who was a contemporary of Imam Ṣādiq, says in a long ode:

وكان عنهالهم فى خم مزدجر لما رقى احمد الهادى على قتب 1
وقال والناس من دان اليه ومن ثاو لديه ومن مصغ ومرتقب 2
قم ياعلى فانى قدامرت بان ابلغ الناس والتبليغ اجدر بى 3
انى نصبت عليا هاديا علما بعدى وان عليا خير منتصب 4
فبايعوك وكل باسط يده اليك من فوق قلب عنك منقلب 5
عافوك لا مانع طولا ولا حصر قولا ولا لهج بالغش والريب 6
وكنت قطب رحى الاسلام دونهم ولا تدور رحى الا على قطب 7
ولا تماثلهم فى الفضل مرتبة ولا تشابههم فى البيت والنسب[194] 8

1. And they had a warning of it at Khumm, when Ahmad the Guide climbed onto saddles.
2. And said, some people close to him, some settled around him, some listening intently and waiting:
3. "O Ali, stand up, because I am commanded to deliver, and delivery is most appropriate for me.
4. "I have hoisted (*naṣabtu*) Ali as a guide and banner after me, and surely Ali is the best appointee (*muntaṣib*)."
5. So they all pledged allegiance to you, each stretching out his hand to you, over an upset heart.
6. They left you, not because of any impediment in terms of strength, dyslogia, or deceitful or suspicious uttering.
7. And you, not they, were the axle of the mill of Islam, and a mill cannot turn without an axle.
8. You are not equaled by them in merit, and your Household and lineage is nothing like theirs!

In any case, these are all proof that *mawlā* means imam, decider of people's dues, their worldly and religious affairs delegated to him by God, the Exalted. That means someone who has reached the level of annihilation in God, leaving no gap or barrier between him and the Real, all the bright and dark veils having been lifted from his eyes: This is the true essence of closeness (*walāyah*), that is, in the level of true servitude and the highest level of human perfection.

Experts on Arabic Literature Also Believe That *Mawlā* Means "Imam" or "He Who Has the Greatest Authority"

Apart from the Master of the Faithful and the poets contemporary to the Prophet and the pure imams already referred to above, there are many other great Arab poets, both contemporary to the imams or after their time, who composed poems about Ghadīr Khumm and the Master of the Faithful's merits. The meaning of *mawlā* can be deduced from their poetry, which is in turn based on their understanding of hadiths that include the words *walāyah* or *mawlā*. Arab literary experts all respect them and rely on their work as evidence of correct usage. These poets include Di'bil Khuzā'ī, 'Āmir Abū Firās, Husayn Ibn Ḥajjāj, Ḥammānī Kūfī, Sharīf 'Alam al-Hudā Sayyid Murtaḍā, Sharīf Sayyid Raḍī, Ibn al-Rūmī, Ṣinawbarī, Mufajji', Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād, Nāshi' Ṣaghīr, Ibn 'Alawiyyah, Ibn Ḥammād, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, Ibn 'Ūdī Nīlī, Jawharī, Zāhī, Tanūkhī, Ṣawlī Nīlī, Abū al-'Alā' Sarwī, Mahyār,[195] Fanjkirdī, and Abū al-Faraj Rāzī. We have referred to some of these great men and quoted some of their excellent poetry above. Now, can anyone doubt the words of these luminaries, some of whom are considered to be the very foundation of the Arabic language?!

Careful Scrutiny of the Literal and Root Meanings of the Words *Mawlā* and *Awlā* with Reference to Poetry by Lubayd

We should know that many Sunni exegetes interpret

فَالْيَوْمَ لَا يُؤْخَذُ مِنْكُمْ فِدْيَةٌ وَلَا مِنَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مَأْوَاكُمُ النَّارُ هِيَ مَوْلَاكُمْ وَبِئْسَ الْمَصِيرُ

as *So today ransom shall not be accepted from you nor from those who disbelieved; your abode is hell; it has the greatest claim to you* (mawlākum) *and evil is the resort* (57:15).

These exegetes include Kalbī, Zajjāj, Farrā', and Abū 'Ubaydah.[196] Abū Ubaydah means Mu'ammar Ibn Muthannā Baṣrī, who died in 210 AH. According to some great scholars, such as Sayyid Murtaḍā 'Alam al-Hudā, Akhfash Awsaṭ, Sa'īd Ibn Mas'adah, Ibn Qutaybah, Tha'lab, Ahmad Ibn Yaḥyā, Abū Bakr Anbārī, and Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad Khafājī, Abū 'Ubaydah relies on a couplet by Lubayd Ibn Rabī'ah as evidence. The consensus is that in Lubayd's couplet, *mawlā* means "most deserving of (*awlā*)." We quoted the reference to Lubayd's poetry above within the longer quote from Abū al-Futūḥ's exegesis. Here are more couplets from Lubayd's ode to make matters clearer:

وتضيء في وجه الظلام منيرة كجمانة البحري سل نظامها 1
حتى اذا انحسر الظلام واسفرت بكرت تزل عن الثرى ازلامها 2
علمت تردد في نهاء صعائد[197] سبعا تؤاما كاملا ايامها 3
حتى اذا يئست واسحق حالق لبن له ارضاعها وفطامها 4
وتوجست رز الانيس فراعها عن ظهر غيب والانيس سقامها 5
فغدت كلا الفرجين تحسب انه مولى المخافة خلفها وامامها[198] 6

In total, this ode has eighty-eight couplets, and in these six, he describes a beautiful wild cow whose calf has been hunted. Even though the cow is afraid of the cruel people, she searches everywhere for her calf, night and day. She is inexplicably overcome with fear—believing there to be most to fear both to her front and rear simultaneously.

Interpretive translation:

1. That bright and white cow, shining in the first part of the night like ocean pearls that have come off their string [because she is running here and there, lighting up the darkness around her].
2. She carries on that way until the darkness clears. Then she sets off early in the brightness of the morning, her hooves slipping in the wet dust, searching for her calf.
3. She is perpetually distraught over losing her calf, comes to places where the water level has risen, and keeps coming to Ṣaʿāʾid for seven whole nights in the hope of finding her calf.
4. She persists until she despairs and her udders dry out, through sorrow over losing her calf.
5. She then hears someone's voice, and even though she cannot see him, she is frightened because humans would hunt and catch her.
6. She is so frightened that she does not know whether there is more to fear to the front or rear. [She believes that both to the front and the rear are worthiest of fearing!]

In his commentary on the *Muʿallaqāt*, Thaʿlab says about this couplet:

مولى

mawlā means "worthiest," as in the Exalted's words

النار هي مولاكم

hell; it is your mawlā (57:15), meaning it is worthiest of you. Thus the couplet means "That cow passed the night thinking that both her front and rear were worthier of fearing for, or the gaps both between her front and hind legs were the places to fear; i.e. that cow thought that both to her front and rear were worthier of fearing."[199]

Lubayd was a poet from the time of ignorance. His best two poems from that time were this—one of the *Muᶜallaqāt*—and his *Lāmiyyah*, one of the couplets of which is

أَلَا كُلُّ شَيْءٍ مَا خَلَا اللهَ بَاطِلُ وَكُلُّ نَعِيمٍ لَا مَحَالَةَ زَائِلُ

Lo! Everything but God is void, and every blessing is inevitably temporary!

When this couplet was recited to the Prophet, he said:

اصدق شعر قالته العرب

"The most truthful poetry uttered by the Arabs."

Lubayd lived to see Islam, became a Muslim, and lived on until Othman's term—he was blessed with a very long life. Those who have a biographical entry on him say he lived at least 110 years—some even say 157.

Others who also say that in this verse *mawlā* means "worthiest" are Bukhārī, Abū Jaᶜfar Ṭabarī,[200] Abū al-Hasan Wāḥidī, Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Juzī,[201] Muhammad Ibn Ṭalḥah Shāfiᶜī, Sibṭ Ibn al-Juzī, Taftazānī in *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid* quoting Abū ᶜUbaydah, Ibn Ṣabbāgh Mālikī, Suyūṭī,[202] and others.

Shaykh Mufīd in his treatise on the meaning of *mawlā* and Sayyid Murtaḍā ᶜAlam al-Hudā in *al-Shāfī* both say that *mawlā* means "worthiest" (*awlā*); and in this way they prove the Master of the Faithful's imamate.

Qūshchī says in his commentary on Khājah Nasir al-Dīn's *Tajrīd al-Iᶜtiqād*:

> One of the meanings of *mawlā* in the Ghadīr Hadith according to Shiᶜa reasoning is "most entitled" (*awlā*). God says:
>
> مَأْوَاكُمُ النَّارُ هِيَ مَوْلَاكُمْ
>
> *...your abode is hell; it is most entitled to you.*
>
> Abū ᶜUbaydah says the same; God's Messenger said:
>
> أَيُّمَا امْرَأَةٍ نَكَحَتْ بِغَيْرِ إِذْنِ مَوْلَاهَا

"Any woman who marries without the authority of her *mawlā*..." meaning without the authority of whoever has the greatest authority over her—her guardian; and there are many similar examples in poetry.

In short, *mawlā* is commonly used in Arabic in the sense of "guardian," "person in charge," or "he who is most entitled to dispose [of something]"; this is related on the authority of leading lexicographers. *Mawlā* is a noun that conveys this meaning, not an adjective equivalent to *awlā*, so a [spurious] objection cannot be raised that it is not a superlative or is not used in a superlative sense.

This has to be the intended meaning in the Ghadīr Hadith so that the end fits in with the beginning:

أَلَسْتُ أَوْلَى بِكُمْ مِنْ أَنْفُسِكُم

"Do I not have greater authority over you than you do over your own selves?"

Because Qūshchī is a Sunni, he strives to prevent reliance on the Ghadīr Khumm Hadith as evidence, but in other ways, not with regard to what *mawlā* means, one of its meanings being "that which has greatest authority over something" (*al-awlā bi al-shay'*).

Zamakhsharī also says in his exegesis of *it is your mawlā* (57:15): "It is said that it means it is most entitled to you"; he relies on Lubayd's poetry as evidence, and then continues:

وحَقِيقَةُ مَوْلَاكُمْ مَحَلُّكُمْ وَمَقَمُّكُمْ أَيْ مَكَانُكُمُ الَّذِي يُقَالُ فِيهِ هُوَ أَوْلَى بِكُمْ كَمَا قِيلَ: هُوَ مَئِنَّةُ الْكَرَمِ أَيْ مَكَانٌ لِقَوْلِ الْقَائِلِ: إِنَّهُ الْكَرِيمُ.

The true meaning of

مَوْلَاكُمْ

mawlākum here is "your suitable and appropriate place," i.e. the place in which it is said it is worthiest of you. It is like saying: "He is a *ma'annah* of generosity," i.e. a place about which one says: "It is generous."[203]

In his exegesis, Bayḍāwī also says the same as Zamakhsharī, and relies on Lubayd's couplet as evidence. Obviously Bayḍāwī copied Zamakhsharī because Zamakhsharī died in 538 AH, whereas Bayḍāwī died in 791 AH. Both of them also think it is possible that *mawlā* in the noble verse means "helper," but they cite different examples; Zamakhsharī says:

It may mean "[Hell] is your helper," i.e. you have no help apart from Hell, meaning you will definitely not have any help. It is like when people say:

اصِيبَ فُلَانٌ بِكَذَا فَاسْتَنْصَرَ الْجَزَعَ

"Someone was afflicted with something so he sought the assistance of anxiety," i.e. he has no help apart from anxiety. Similar to this is God, the Exalted's, words:

وَإِنْ يَسْتَغِيثُوا يُغَاثُوا بِمَاءٍ كَالْمُهْلِ.

...and if they cry for water, they shall be given water like molten brass (18:29).[204]

Bayḍāwī says:

Or *mawlā* means "helper," like when the Arabs say:

تَحِيَّةُ بَيْنِهِمْ ضَرْبٌ وَجِيعٌ

that is, "The only greeting among them was to beat each other painfully."[205]

By way of exegesis of 57:15, Khāzin says:

It is your mawlā means "it is your guardian." It is said it means "it is worthiest of you because of the sins you have committed [in this world]." Thus it means that Hell is your guardian because it has taken charge of your affairs and you have surrendered to it, and it is worthier of you than anything else! It is said that the verse means

لَا مَوْلَى لَكُمْ وَلَا نَاصِرَ

"You have no *mawlā* or helper," because whoever has Hell as a *mawlā* has no helper.[206]

Fakhr Rāzī's Opinion on What *al-Mawlā* and *al-Awlā* Mean

Even though Fakhr Rāzī concedes that one of the definitions of *mawlā* is *awlā* ("that which has the greatest authority over something"), he follows a different path and says: "In this way, Murtaḍā's reliance on the verse as evidence of the Master of the Faithful's imamate (*walāyah*) is incorrect." We shall quote what he says, and then discuss it.

He says:

There are several opinions on what *mawlā* in the noble verse

مَأْوَاكُمُ النَّارُ هِيَ مَوْلَاكُمْ وَبِئْسَ الْمَصِيرُ

means:

One: Ibn ʿAbbās's "your *mawlā* means your fate." To explain, *mawlā* is interchangeable with *walyun*; *walyun* means "closeness," so it means "Hell is your place, which you are approaching and will reach."

Two: Kalbī's "It means 'worthiest of you' (*awlā bikum*)." This is what Zajjāj, Farrāʾ, and Abū ʿUbaydah believe. Note that what they say is an interpretation and not a literal definition, because if *mawlā* and *awlā* really did mean the same lexically, it would be correct to use them interchangeably. Therefore, it should be just as correct to say *hādhā mawlā min fulān* as *hādhā awlā min fulān* ("this man has greatest authority over So-and-So"). It should also be just as correct to say *hādhā awlā fulān* as *hādhā mawlā fulān* ("this man is So-and-So's master"). Because this is wrong, we know that what they say [*mawlā* means *awlā*] is an interpretation as opposed to a literal definition.

We have only drawn attention to this subtlety because Sharīf Murtaḍā, in relying on God's Messenger's words

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ

as evidence of Ali's imamate, says:

> One of the meanings of *mawlā* is *awlā*. To prove that [claim] reference has been made to what leading lexicographers say by way of exegesis of the verse *it is your mawla* (57:15)—that *mawlā* means "worthiest" (*awlā*). If it is confirmed that the word can be construed as such, it has to be construed as such; every other alternative is either clearly true, such as "cousin" and "helper," or clearly false, such as "emancipator" or "freedman." The former would be pointless and the latter would be a lie.

[Fakhr Rāzī continues]: As we have explained with proof, what those lexicographers say is an interpretation, not exegesis, so reliance on the verse

هِيَ مَوْلَاكُمْ

as evidence [of Sharīf Murtaḍā's claim] is wrong.

There is another explanation for this verse, namely that

هِيَ مَوْلَاكُمْ

means "he has no helper" because whoever has Hell as his *mawlā* has no one to help him; it is like saying

نَاصِرُهُ الْخِذْلَانُ وَمُعِينُهُ الْبُكَاءُ

"his supporter is failure and his only helper is weeping"—i.e. he has no helper. This explanation is supported by God's words

وَأَنَّ الْكَافِرِينَ لَا مَوْلَىٰ لَهُمْ

and because the unbelievers shall have no helper for them (47:11) and

يُغَاثُوا بِمَاءٍ كَالْمُهْلِ

...they shall be given water like molten brass (18:29).

ᶜAllāmah Amīnī's Refutation of the Above

ᶜAllāmah Amīnī, may God bless him, after quoting Fakhr Rāzī more than we have, relates yet more of his opinions, this time from *Nihāyat al-ᶜUqūl*:

> The remit of the assigner of lexical meaning to words extends only to the assignment of meanings to individual words, not to the assignment of meanings to whole phrases. For example, one meaning is lexically assigned to the word "human," and another to the word "animal." When we make "animal" the predicate of "man" and say: "man is an animal," this predication has nothing to do with lexical assignment. On the contrary, it is a mental construct. Thus, if *mawlā* and *awlā* did mean the same thing without adding or taking anything away from them, we should be able to use them interchangeably in sentences. Now, because we have learned that predication has nothing to do with the lexical assignment of meaning, and that it is to individual words that meanings are lexically assigned, and because we cannot use *mawlā* and *awlā* interchangeably, we have to accept that *mawlā* and *awlā* mean two different things.

Rāzī goes further elsewhere in *Nihāyat al-ᶜUqūl*: "No leading grammarian has ever said that *mafᶜal*, lexically assigned as a noun of place, time, or incident can ever mean *afᶜal*, lexically assigned to the comparative [or superlative]." Qāḍī ᶜAḍud Ījī in *al-Mawāqif*, Shāh Ṣāḥib Hindī in *al-Tuḥfat al-Ithnā ᶜAshariyyah*, Kābulī in *al-Ṣawāqiᶜ*, ᶜAbd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī in *al-Lamᶜāt*, and Qāḍī Sanā'ullāh Pānī Pītī in *al-Sayf al-Maslūl* all agree with Fakhr Rāzī. Some of them even say that native Arab-speakers are ignorant of their own grammar!

The source of this misconception is Rāzī alone, who states it in his book without attributing it to anyone else. These others have followed him blindly, mistakenly believing that they have found fault with the Shiᶜa interpretation of the hadith's meaning.

Building further upon this foundation, Shāh Waliyyu'llāh Ṣāḥib Hindī claims in *al-Tuḥfat al-Ithnā ᶜAshariyyah*: "The Ghadīr Hadith can only refer to imamate if *mawlā* means *wali*. However, the *maf ᶜal* form has never meant *faᶜīl*."

He is trying to refute what grammarians have explicitly stated—that *mawlā* can mean *wali*. We know that *mawlā* in the sense of "guardian" has frequently been used, literarily and mundanely, for a woman or orphan's guardian (*wali*), a slave's master (*wali*), a sultan (*wali*), an heir-apparent (*walī ᶜahd*), and so on.

ᶜAllāmah Amīnī's Reasons for Concluding That *al-Mawlā* Means *al-Awlā*

ᶜAllāmah Amīnī makes a firm stand against Rāzī's objections, and to prove that the true and original meaning of *mawlā* is "that which has greatest authority over something," he says:

It is very surprising that it has eluded Rāzī that some phrasal and non-phrasal transitivity of derivatives depends on the form. Synonymity between words comes from their essential meaning, not the accidental, resulting from various constructs, conjugation, and declension or forms. Therefore, the difference between *mawlā* and *awlā* is that the latter is used phrasally, with *bi* before the object, i.e. *"al-awlā bi* something," whereas the former, *mawlā*, is non-phrasally transitive. This is only on account of the use of the comparative/superlative (*af ᶜal*) form of this root (*māddah*). This form also requires the use of the preposition *min* (than), e.g.: *al-awlā bihi* min *fulān*, "he who has the greater authority over it *than* So-and-So"; thus, *fulān awlā bi fulān* and *fulān mawlā bi fulān* both mean the same thing ["So-and-So has greatest authority over So-and-So"], because they both mean "he who has greater authority over someone or something than anyone else."

Just like the comparative/superlative *af ᶜal*, it can be annexed (*muḍāf*) to dual or plural [nouns], or to [dual or plural] pronominal suffixes such as

زَيْدٌ أَفْضَلُ الرَّجُلَيْنِ

"Zayd is the better of the two men" or

أَفْضَلُهُمَا

"the better of the two of them," or

أَفْضَلُ الْقَوْمِ

"the best among the people" or

أَفْضَلُهُم

"the best among them." However, it cannot be used that way if followed by a singular noun such as

زَيْدٌ أَفْضَلُ عَمْرٍو

We have to add a preposition, for example

أَفْضَلُ مِنْ عَمْرٍو

"better *than* ʿAmr." No rational person can doubt that they all mean the same thing. The same applies to all other comparatives/superlatives such as

اجمل اسمح احسن اشجع اعلم

and so on.

What he says is supported by Taftazānī in *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid* and Qūshchī in *Sharḥ al-Tajrīd*; neither denies that *mawlā* means *awlā* in the hadith. The same applies to Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, in *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid*; he follows suit in accepting as much, and further, refutes Qāḍī ʿAḍud's claim that no one has ever said that the [noun of place] *mafʿal* can mean [the comparative/superlative] *afʿal*:

Al-Mawlā is frequently used in Arabic speech in the sense of

المتولّى

"encharged"

المالك للامر

"guardian" and

الاولى بالتصرّف

"more entitled than he to dispose" and is cited by leading grammarians.

In spite of his intransigence, Ibn Ḥajar, in *al-Ṣawāʿiq*, p.24, concedes that in the Ghadīr Hadith, *mawlā* means "having the greatest authority over something" (*awlā*); however, he questions whether this greatest authority applies to everything or only to certain things. His conclusion is that it is the latter, and attributes the same understanding of this hadith to the two "shaykhs," Abū Bakr and Omar, who told the Master of the Faithful:

أَمْسَيْتَ مَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَةٍ

"You have become the master of ever believer, male and female."

Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq in *al-Lamaʿāt* quotes Ibn Ḥajar as saying so. In *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿUqbā*, Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad Ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir Shāfiʿī follows in Ibn Ḥajar's footsteps by saying:

اَلتَّوَلِّي

al-tawallī means

اَلْوَلَايَه

al-wālāyah, that is "[being a] friend, helper, or worthiest of being followed and becoming close to," as per God's words

إِنَّ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِإِبْرَاهِيمَ لَلَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوه

most surely, the worthiest (awlā) *people of Abraham are those who followed him* (3:68).

This is exactly what Omar understood from the hadith, because when he heard it, he said:

هَنِيئاً يَا بْنَ أَبِي طَالِبٍ! أَمْسَيْتَ وَلِيَّ كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ وَمُؤْمِنَة

"Bravo, son of Abū Ṭālib! You have become the master of ever believer, male and female."

Sharīf Sayyid Murtaḍā quotes Abū al-ᶜAbbās Mubarrid: "The original meaning of *walī* is 'he who is worthiest (*awlā*) or most deserving.' The same applies to *mawlā*."

Abū Naṣr Fārābī Jawharī says about the root *walyun* in *Ṣiḥāḥ al-Lughah*, after quoting Lubayd's couplet:

He means

أَوْلَى مَوْضِعٍ يَكُونُ فِيهِ الْخَوْف

"the place worthiest (*awlā*) of being feared."

Abū Zakariyyā Khaṭīb Tabrīzī, in *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah*, vol.1, p. 22, quotes Jaᶜfar Ibn ᶜUlbah al-Ḥārithī as saying:

أَلَا فَتًى بِقُرَى سَحْبَلٍ حِينَ أَحْلَبَتْ عَلَيْنَا الْوَلَايَا وَالْعِدُوُّ الْبَاسِل.

"Alas! Vast land, when [our] female relatives, or the weak or clans and the fierce enemies ganged up against us!"

Among the eight definitions of *mawlā* are *walī* and *awlā bi shay'* ("worthiest of something"). However, Omar Ibn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Fārisī Qazwīnī in *Kashf al-Kashshāf* says about Lubayd's couplet:

مَوْلَى الْمَخَافَةِ يعنى أَوْلَى وَأَحْرَى بِأَنْ يَكُونَ فِيهِ الْخَوْف.

"*Mawlā al-makhāfah* means 'worthiest of or most appropriate to be feared.'"

Sibṭ Ibn Juzī says in *al-Tadhkirah*, p. 19: "*Al-awlā* is one of the ten definitions of *mawlā* attributed to Arabic lexicographers (*ʿulamāʾ al-ʿarabiyyah*)."

Ibn Ṭalḥah Shāfiʿī agrees in *Maṭālib al-Saʾūl*, p. 16, and says that *awlā* is one of the senses [of it as] introduced by the Qurʾan (*al-kitāb*). Shiblanjī follows suit in *Nūr al-Abṣār*, p. 78, attributing this [opinion] to the scholars. Two commentators on the seven *muʿallaqāt*, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm and Rashīd al-Nabī, say about Lubayd's couplet:

He means by

وَلِيُّ الْمَخَافَةِ

walī al-makhāfah

الاوْلَى بِالْمَخَافَةِ

al-awlā bi al-makhāfah, "the worthiest of being feared."

In any case, the late Amīnī insists that the etymological root meaning of *mawlā* is *awlā*. Even in his discussion on the twenty-six other definitions of *mawlā*, he seeks to argue that they all ultimately mean

الأوْلَى

"the worthiest." Counter to this, Fakhr Rāzī and his followers try to prove that *mawlā* does not mean *awlā* as the late Amīnī and the others say—it is not a comparative/superlative. Thus, the hadith

من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه

cannot, as Sayyid Murtaḍā claims in *al-Shāfī*, be relied on as evidence of [Ali's] appointment as imam.

In my opinion, because of their conflicting opinions, both scholars are mistaken. However, even though Fakhr Rāzī claims that the literal meaning of *mawlā* cannot be *al-awlā*, he does concede that it has been used to mean *al-awlā*.

This is as far as Shiʿa argument goes; more cannot be inferred from Sayyid Murtaḍā's reasoning. He says [paraphrased]: One of the meanings of *mawlā* is *al-awlā*...Because every other alternative is either clearly true...or clearly false, the intended meaning of this hadith has to be *al-awlā*.

This reasoning is correct.

On the other hand, ʿAllāmah Amīnī pours all the meanings lexically assigned to *mawlā* into a single meaning—*al-awlā*. We have no

proof that *al-awlā* is the meaning that is lexically assigned to, or the literal meaning of, *mawlā*. In fact, there is evidence to the contrary. Thus, there is no need for these elaborate means to prove Shi'a belief. We can prove the guardianship and imamate with the hadith in a simple way, obviating the need even to refer to Fakhr Rāzī's use of examples to try to prove that one form has never been used in place of another. We just need two premises to explain.

Our Proof That the Literal Meaning of *Mawlā* Is "Where *Walāyah* Inheres," Which Is a Noun of Place

The first premise is that different words and forms produce different meanings. Otherwise, lexically assigning different words and forms would be pointless. Thus, many believe that there is no such thing as a synonym. Words that appear to be synonyms or that lexicographers claim in their books are synonyms are not true synonyms. They have not been lexically assigned to the same meaning in every respect. There is something unique about each of the meanings lexically assigned to those words, even though two or more words can apply to the same concept. For example, *bashar* and *insān* may appear to be synonyms, and they are both lexically assigned to mean "human." However, *bashar* is used to refer to the human because of his skin (*basharah*) or hide, in contrast to angels and *jinn*, who do not have skin; man is referred to as *insān*, because he is a being characterized by sociability (*uns*) or forgetfulness (*nisyān*), depending on whether it is derived from the verb *anisa* ("he was sociable") or *nasiya* ("he forgot"). That is why the Qur'an says that the prophets told the people: "We are *bashar* like you," meaning, "we have skin just like your skin," as in:

قَالَتْ لَهُمْ رُسُلُهُمْ إِنْ نَحْنُ إِلَّا بَشَرٌ مِثْلُكُمْ

Their messengers said to them, "We are nothing but humans (bashar) *like yourselves..."* (14:11)

قُلْ إِنَّمَا أَنَا بَشَرٌ مِثْلُكُمْ يُوحَى إِلَيَّ أَنَّمَا إِلَهُكُمْ إِلَهٌ وَاحِدٌ

Say, "I am only a human (bashar) *like you; it is revealed to me that your God is one God..."* (18:11)

In these exchanges, the unbelievers rejected the Messenger's message because it came from a human in skin like theirs, i.e. physical and corporeal. In the conversation between Mary and the heavenly angel, we see that

قَالَتْ أَنَّى يَكُونُ لِي غُلَامٌ وَلَمْ يَمْسَسْنِي بَشَرٌ وَلَمْ أَكُ بَغِيًّا

She said: "When shall I have a boy and no human (bashar) *has yet touched me, nor have I been unchaste?"* (19:20).

That is because having a child is dependent upon a man with skin (*basharah*), not a person in incorporeal form, having had physical contact (*yubāshir*) with the woman!

Maf'al is a noun of place or time, whereas *af'al* is a comparative or superlative. These are two different meanings, even though they do share a common root meaning from which both forms are derived.

That is why Fakhr Rāzī says:

> Khalīl and the likes of him do not give *al-awlā* as a definition [of *mawlā*] in their books and...Mīr Sayyid Sharīf says in *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*: "No leading lexicographer has ever said that the [noun of place] *maf'al* can mean [the superlative] *af'al*"; God says:
>
> وَمَأْوَاكُمُ النَّارُ هِيَ مَوْلَاكُمْ
>
> *your abode is hell; it is your* mawlā, i.e. your residence, your end or eventual outcome. That is why He says immediately afterwards: *and evil is the resort* (maṣīr) (57:15).[207]

It is clear from the previous discussion that many exegeses say that *al-mawlā* means *al-awlā*, on the grounds that it communicates the meaning in words linked to the true meaning in many respects, without necessarily being the true meaning. This technique is used in many lexicons, which do not cite only true meanings, but also actual usage.

The second premise is that there are two kinds of predication, intensional (*awwalī dhātī*) and extensional (*shā'i' ṣinā'ī*). Intensional predication means the subject and predicate are intensionally (*mafhūman*) one, for example in "man is a rational animal," because intensionally, there is no difference between "man" [the subject] and "rational animal" [the predicate]. In extensional predication, two concepts converge on a single instance even if the two concepts are not at one. For example

زیدانسان

"Zayd is human" or

زیدقائم

"Zayd is standing"; here, the concept "human" converges extensionally with the concept "Zayd," and both concepts apply to this external existent. In the second example, both concepts—"Zayd" and "standing"—converge on a single instance, or in other words both

the concept "Zayd" and the concept "standing" apply to this external existent.

Now that these two premises are clear, we say: Without a doubt, there is a difference between the noun of place *maf'al's* form and the superlative *af'al's* form; however, they frequently converge on an instance.

Therefore, if we say:

فلان مولى فلان

"Somebody is someone else's *mawlā*," and mean by

مولى

the superlative, the external predication is correct; if we say the *mawlā* is the *awlā*, the external predication is also correct. When we say:

فلان ليس مولى فلان

"Somebody is not someone else's *mawlā*," and mean by

مولى

mawlā the superlative, the extensional predication is correct. However, if we say:

مولى ليس الاولى

it would not be correct as an external predication, but it would be correct as an intensional predication. That is because the two concepts are not the same. Similarly when we say:

زيد ليس بقائم

"Zayd is not standing," it is not correct as an extensional predication, but it is correct as an intensional predication when Zayd is not actually (*fī al-khārij*) standing.

It is clear from the above that both Fakhr Rāzī and 'Allāmah Amīnī, in their respective corners in the discussion, are each trying to prove something that ought not be proven, and disprove something that ought not be disproven.

Fakhr Rāzī says:

> The *mawlā* is not the *awlā*. It is correct as an intensional predication, but incorrect as an extensional predication, because we are not trying to prove that they are the same concept. On the contrary, we mean they are existentially one in the real world (*fī al-khārij*), like when people say:
>
> زيد انسان

"Zayd is a human." This sense is also correct as an extensional predication because the convergence of *al-mawlā* and *al-awlā* as an external instantiation is enough to prove [Ali's appointment as] leader.

However, Fakhr Rāzī wants to conclude that the two instances do not converge from the fact that the two concepts are not the same; that is why he thinks Sayyid Murtaḍā's reasoning is wrong. But what [Fakhr Rāzī] says is incorrect.

ᶜAllāmah Amīnī says: "The *mawlā* is the *awlā*. As an extensional predication this is correct, but as an intensional predication it is wrong, because the two concepts are not the same. The extensional predication suffices us."

However, ᶜAllāmah Amīnī wants to conclude that there is a unity between the two instantiations because there is a unity between the two concepts and say: "Because the two concepts are the same, the concept of having greater authority (*awlawiyyah*) applies externally to Ali." This is wrong because we do not need to prove unity between concepts to prove unity between instantiations. Let there be a difference between the two concepts *mawlā* and *al-awlā*, and between the noun of place and the superlative. However, with the convergence of the instantations, the extensional predication, the external applicability of the sense of *al-awlā* to Imam Ali, and the inapplicability of *mawlā* in any other sense, Ali's appointment as imam is proven, and those who would prefer to deny it have no choice but to concede his appointment as leader.

It is clear from the above that according to ᶜAllāmah Amīnī the true meaning of *mawlā* is "the worthiest of something." However, according to me the humblest, the true meaning is "a noun of place where the essence of *walāyah* is." As we have explained repeatedly, *walāyah* means "the removal of any barrier between two things such that nothing else comes between them." All definitions of *mawlā*, *walī*, *awlā*, and so on are via this meaning, which permeates all the instantiations by applying to all of them. [The third declaration of faith]

وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ عَلِيًّا وَلِيُّ اللهِ

means "I testify that Ali has reached such a level—the level of pure servitude—that there is no barrier between him and God." This is the true meaning of *walāyah*, and the true meaning of complete servitude.

اللّٰهُمَّ اجْعَلْنَا مِنَ الْمُتَمَسِّكِينَ بِوَلَايَتِهِ

"O God, make us among those who cling to his *walāyah*." At this level lies *walāyah*, which is the manifestation of all attributes and Divine

Names and the spring whence Majesty and Beauty appear, a mirror and great sign that does not reflect itself—it reflects God.

As the learned poet Fāriḍ Miṣrī utters involuntarily:

فَكُلُّ مَلِيحٍ حُسْنُهُ مِنْ جَمَالِهَا مُعَارٌ لَهُ بَلْ حُسْنُ كُلِّ مَلِيحَةٍ[208]

The handsomeness of every handsome man comes from her beauty, as does the beauty of every beautiful woman [come from her beloved]!

The Presentation of Imam Ali to the People Was like the Presentation of Joseph to the Egyptian Women

What an appropriate juncture to pass on this story, as told by the Shaykh of exegesis, Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī, may God elevate his status:

> Then, he pointed to Ali, the Master of the Faithful, called him, climbed atop the pulpit with him, took his upper arms, lifted him, and showed him to the people the way grooms are shown off, to the point that the people could see the whiteness of their armpits. He remained silent for a while. It is related that on the Day of Ghadīr, Shiblī approached a famous descendant of Ali (ʿAlawī), congratulated him, then said: "My Sayyid, do you know the secret behind your ancestor's (*jaddik*) taking your forefather's (*abīk*) arm, and lifting it up without saying anything?!"
>
> He replied: "I do not know."
>
> He said:
>
> > It was an allusion to those women who were unaware of Joseph's beauty and carried on criticizing Zulaykhā and said:
> >
> > امْرَأَةُ الْعَزِيزِ تُرَاوِدُ فَتَاهَا عَنْ نَفْسِهِ قَدْ شَغَفَهَا حُبًّا إِنَّا لَنَرَاهَا فِي ضَلَالٍ مُبِينٍ
> >
> > *The chief's wife seeks her slave to yield himself (to her), surely he has affected her deeply with (his) love; most surely we see her in manifest error* (12:30).
> >
> > She wanted to show them some of Joseph's beauty, so she prepared a party and invited them to it; when they came, she sat them in a room with two doors and dressed Joseph in a white shirt. She told him: "For my sake, enter through this door and leave through that door."
> >
> > She told [her guests]: "I want to show you whom I love [just] once, and I want you to excuse him for my sake."
> >
> > They asked: "What shall we do?"

She replied: "I'll give each of you a knife and a tangerine. When he emerges before you, each take a piece of tangerine and give it to him!"

They said: "We will do so."

However, when he emerged, their gaze fell upon his beauty. They wanted to cut the tangerines, but they cut their hands out of astonishment and intoxication. When he left, they said:

حَاشَ لِلّٰهِ مَا هَذَا بَشَرًا إِنْ هَذَا إِلَّا مَلَكٌ كَرِيمٌ.

Far be it from God! This is not a human; this is but a noble angel (12:31). *She said: "*[Did you see?] *This is he with respect to whom you blamed me"* (12:32).

Similarly God's Messenger pointed and said: "That man about whom you do not like me saying anything and with respect to whom you blame me—see today, what God the Exalted says about him and where He places him, and what status He awards him." He then said:

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَهَذَا عَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ، اللّٰهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ، وَعَادِ مَنْ عَادَاهُ، وَانْصُرْ مَنْ نَصَرَهُ، وَاخْذُلْ مَنْ خَذَلَهُ

> Whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master! O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy; help whoever helps him and forsake whoever forsakes him.

He then asked:

اللّٰهُمَّ هَلْ بَلَّغْتُ؟

"O God, have I delivered?" The [people] said: "Yes."

He asked:

اللّٰهُمَّ اشْهَدْ عَلَيْهِم

"O God, bear witness to them!"[209]

Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī says:

زین سبب پیغمبر با اجتهاد نام خود و آن علی مولا نهاد
گفت: هر کس را منم مولا و دوست این عم من علی، مولای اوست

کیست مولا، آن که آزادت کند بند رقیت ز پایت بر کند
چون به آزادی نبوت هادی است مؤمنان را زانبیا آزادی است
ای، گروه مؤمنان شادی کنید همچو سرو و سوسن آزادی کنید[210]

This is why the Prophet strived his utmost to call himself and Ali "master," saying: "Whoever's master I am, my paternal cousin is [also] his master." Then, who is a master? It is he who frees you, who unshackles your feet! Because prophecy guides towards freedom, the freedom of free believers comes from the prophets. Rejoice, believers, and feel free like cypresses and lilies!

The Prophet's Words "Do I Not Have Greater Authority over You Than You Do over Your Own Selves?" Also Explain What *Mawlā* Means

Proof that *mawlā* in the Ghadīr Hadith means total imam and master is in what God's Messenger said in the preceding paragraph in this sermon. He addresses the people and asks them:

أَلَسْتُ أَوْلَى بِكُمْ مِنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ؟

"Do I not have greater authority over you than you do over your own selves?" They all replied: "Yes." He then continued:

فَمَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ

"Well, whoever's master I am, so too is Ali his master."

Because his words

أَلَسْتُ أَوْلَى بِكُمْ مِنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ؟

"Do I not have greater authority over you than you have over your own selves?" are a conclusion drawn from the verse

النَّبِيُّ أَوْلَى بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ

The Prophet has a greater claim on the faithful than they have on themselves (33:6), which makes it clear that the Prophet's authority over the believers is greater than their authority over their own selves, without a doubt, this authority is in all respects: spiritual, physical, manifest, hidden, religious, and secular.

Therefore, God's Messenger's rhetorical question

أَلَسْتُ أَوْلَى بِكُمْ

refers to the same authority. Hence, the authority given to the Master of the Faithful in:

مَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ

is the same authority.

Apart from all Shiʿa scholars, the following Sunni scholars also cite this rhetorical question as put by the Prophet along with the *Walāyah* Hadith: Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal, Tirmidhī, Ibn Mājah, Nasāʾī, Ṭabarī, Ṭabarānī, Abū Ḥātim, Dāraquṭnī, Dhahabī, Ḥākim, Abū Nuʿaym, Thaʿlabī, Bayhaqī, Khaṭīb, Ḥaskānī, Ibn al-Maghāzilī, Sijistānī, Khārazmī, Ibn ʿAsākir, Bayḍāwī, Ibn Athīr, Abū al-Faraj, Taftāzānī, Ḥammūʾī, Ganjī, Ījī, Ibn Ṣabbāgh, Ibn Ḥajar, Suyūṭī, and many others. ʿAllāmah Amīnī says that there are sixty-four of these great Sunni men.

Thus, the rhetorical question is also indubitable (*mutawātir*), and many of the companions of the Prophet who relate the *Walāyah* Hadith do so with this interrogative as an introduction.

Now, we can conclude: The word

مولى

mawlā in the *Walāyah* Hadith means the same as

الاولى

al-awlā used by God's Messenger in the rhetorical question at the beginning of his sermon. In other words:

أَلَسْتُ أَوْلَى بِكُمْ مِنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ

and

فَمَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ

have the same meaning; otherwise, the first sentence would be separated from the second one, become meaningless, and cease to be eloquent.

This is further supported by the fact that many scholars who relate the hadith—as mentioned above—quote the following wording after the Prophet's rhetorical question:

الا فَمَنْ كُنْتُ أَوْلَى بِهِ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ

"Lo! Over whomsoever I have greater authority [so too] is Ali his master." So, this sentence gives the impression of a link between the two sentences—one a rhetorical question and the other declarative—uttered by God's Messenger.

Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Faraj Yaḥyā Ibn Saʿīd Thaqafī Iṣfahānī, after relating the preamble to the Ghadīr sermon in *Maraj al-Baḥrayn*, says:

God's Messenger took Ali's hand and said:

مَنْ كُنْتُ وَلِيَّهُ وَأَوْلَى بِهِ مِنْ نَفْسِهِ فَعَلِيٌّ وَلِيُّهُ

"Whoever's master I am and over whom I have greater authority than he does over his own self, so too is Ali his master.

Sibṭ Ibn Juzī, after favoring the interpretation as

الأَوْلَى

in the Ghadīr Hadith, says:

The meaning of the word

مولى

in the hadith is particular, complete obedience and the worthiest, so it means

مَنْ كُنْتُ أَوْلَى بِهِ مِنْ نَفْسِهِ فَعَلِيٌّ أَوْلَى بِهِ

"Over whomsoever I have greater authority than he does over his own self, so too does Ali have greater authority over him."

Ibn Ṭalḥah Shāfiʿī says: "Many people believe that the hadith means having greater authority."

"O God, Be a Friend to Whoever Accepts Him as Master and an Enemy to Whoever Is His Enemy" Further Corroborates the Claim That *Mawlā* Means "Imam"

We realize from the above the incorrectness of the claim by some Sunnis that putting

أَلَسْتُ أَوْلَى بِكُمْ.

before

مَنْ كُنْتُ مولاه

would only mean authority and imamate if God's Messenger had not followed it with the prayer

اللّٰهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاهُ، وعاد من عاداه

because it means "O God, be a friend to whoever is his friend and an enemy to whoever is his enemy," proving that

مولى

must also mean someone who loves; thus, the hadith has nothing to do with authority.

This reasoning is not correct, because it depends on interpreting

اللّٰهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاه

as "O God, be a friend or help to whoever is his friend or helps him." But it is not so. It means *walāyah* in the true sense.

اللّٰهُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاه

means "O God, be a Guardian to whoever abides by Ali's authority! And undertake to care for and protect whoever flocks under Ali's banner." This is because as we already mentioned, *walāyah* means the removal of all impediments. The words

مولى

and

ولى

are used for both parties; and derived forms apply to both sides. The word

وَالِ

is an imperative [or petitive] that means "undertake guardianship."

وَالَاه

is a verb in the past tense,[211] meaning "flocked under his authority."

So, not only does God's Messenger's prayer not contradict the interpretation of *walāyah* as "authority" at the beginning of the hadith, but it supports it. This is because, first of all, it puts Ali in charge of everyone via a universal, and calls everyone to follow and obey him. This meaning fits "authority" but not "love" or "help."

Second, it tells everyone to help and support him so that all impediments to his imamate and authority can be removed. That is the point in emphasizing them. Obviously imamate is a public office that needs everyone's assistance and support, whereas having everyone's love and help does not require such emphasis.

Third, this part is proof of his infallibility, because calling everyone to accept him as master and support him unconditionally, and to disavow his enemies, desertion, and lack of interest in his commands and prohibitions, makes no sense unless he is truly infallible.

It is clear from the above that

وعاد من عاداه

"and be an enemy to whoever is his enemy" is an alternative or accompaniment to

وال من والاه

and not an indication that it means "love and assist him," because a lack of *walāyah* is concomitant with showing hostility and enmity.

Besides,

من کنت مولاہ فعلی مولاہ

and

اللّٰھُمَّ وَالِ مَنْ وَالَاہ

are separate sentences with separate meanings. Even if

وال من والاہ

does refer to love and assistance,

مَنْ کُنْتُ مَوْلَاہُ فَعَلِیٌّ مَوْلَاہ

apparently refers to total authority and imamate, especially because of its consequentiality to

ألست اولی بکم من انفسکم؟

Further Evidence from within the Prophet's Sermon Proving That *Mawlā* Means "Imam"

The third piece of evidence is the words and phrases used in the sermon, each of which clearly shows that *mawlā* refers to the imamate; therefore, each of them is an indication in the context that the intended meaning is as we have claimed.

For example, God's Messenger calls upon people to follow the Book and the Household, and refers to them as "the two weighty things" (*al-thaqalayn*), that is, the two precious things. He says that they will not separate from each other until the Day of Resurrection and says:

فَلَا تَقَدَّمُوھُمَا فَتَھْلِکُوا وَلَا تَقْصُرُوا عَنْھُمَا فَتَھْلِکُوا

"So do not overtake them, because you will perish; and do not lag behind them because you will [also] perish!"

Now, is there any other conceivable meaning for being told not to overtake or lag behind the Book and the Household other than that they both have to obeyed and followed? A duty to obey someone is indicative of his imamate.

Another example is that the Prophet posed the Master of the Faithful's *walāyah* immediately after making the people concede that God is One and that he was His Messenger. Obviously, linking *walāyah* with the Messenger's Message and God's Oneness means

that it can be nothing other than leadership and imamate. The Prophet said:

يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، بِمَ تَشْهَدُونَ؟ قَالُوا: نَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ، قَالَ: ثُمَّ مَهْ؟ قَالُوا: وَأَنَّ مُحَمَّداً عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ، قَالَ: فَمَنْ وَلِيُّكُمْ؟ قَالُوا: اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ مَوْلَانَا.

"O people! What do you testify to?"

They replied: "We testify that there is no god except God."

He asked: "Then what?"

They replied: "And that Muhammad is His servant and Messenger."

He asked: "And who is your master?"

They replied: "God and His Messenger are our Master!"

He then tapped Ali's upper arm with his hand, lifted it up, and said:

مَنْ يَكُنِ اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ مَوْلَاهُ فَإِنَّ هَذَا مَوْلَاهُ.

"Whoever's Master God and His Messenger are, so [too] is Ali his master."

It is clear, even with minimal consideration, that Ali's authority is the same as God's and His Messenger's; there is no distinction at all. There is no other conceivable meaning; otherwise it would make no sense.

Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal narrates the hadith as follows:

فَقَالَ: أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ، مَنْ أَوْلَى النَّاسِ بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ؟ قَالُوا: اللهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَعْلَمُ، قَالَ: إِنَّ اللهَ مَوْلَايَ وَأَنَا مَوْلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَأَنَا أَوْلَى بِهِمْ مِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ، فَمَنْ كُنْتُ مَوْلَاهُ فَعَلِيٌّ مَوْلَاهُ.

(The second sentence was repeated three times, or according to Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal, four times).

> [The Messenger] said: "O people! Which person has greater authority over the believers than they have over their own selves?"
>
> They replied: "God and His Messenger know best."
>
> [The Prophet] said: "God is my Master, I am the master of the believers, and I have greater authority over them than they have over their own selves. Now, whoever's master I am, [so too] is Ali his master."

In any case, the link, unity, and indeed synonymity between the Prophet's and Ali's being master and having greater authority over

the believers than they have over their own selves is so obvious from this sermon that it does not even require any thought.

A further example is that at the beginning of the sermon, the Messenger says:

كَأَنِّي دُعِيتُ فَأَجَبْتُ

"It is as if I have been called and have already responded," or

يُوشِكُ أَنْ أُدْعَى فَأُجِيبَ

"I am nearly being called and I will have to answer," or

أَلَا وَإِنِّي أُوشِكُ أَنْ أُفَارِقَكُمْ

"Lo, I am nearly leaving you," or

يُوشِكُ أَنْ يَأْتِيَ رَسُولُ رَبِّي فَأُجِيبَ

"My Lord's messenger is nearly coming, so I must answer."

This kind of statement gives the impression that there was something extremely important that he had not yet delivered, and the Prophet was afraid that death would come to him without his addressing it, leaving God's religion incomplete and His Message aborted.

We see nothing in this sermon but a commandment to look after his Household, and the appointment of the Master of the Faithful as his successor. Obviously the important affair, which he feared he would not manage before he died if he did not make haste, was nothing other than the *walāyah*. So, can we suppose that the *walāyah* referred to in this sermon means anything else but the imamate and the Islamic government by way of natural succession to the Messenger's imamate and leadership? Can it mean "love" or "assistance," for example? Never ever!

Another point is that the Prophet states:

وَلْيُبَلِّغِ الشَّاهِدُ الْغَائِبَ

"Those who are present should inform those who are absent." If *walāyah* means "assistance" or "love," these two duties had already been mentioned in the Scripture and tradition (*sunnah*), so there would be no need for those present to inform those who were absent. It is clear that this message must be of such importance that it has to be passed on to those absent by those who are present, especially because after delivering it, the Messenger called God as his witness by saying:

اللَّهُمَّ أَنْتَ شَهِيدٌ عَلَيْهِمْ أَنِّي قَدْ بَلَّغْتُ وَنَصَحْتُ

"O God, You are a witness against them that I have delivered and advised sincerely!" Moreover, he repeatedly calls God as his witness in this sermon:

اللهم اشهد، اللهم اشهد

meaning that the subject is very serious. This was an unprecedented occurrence.

Another example is what the Prophet said after the hadith

اللهُ أكبرُ عَلَى إكمالِ الدين، وإتمامِ النِّعمَةِ، ورضى الرَّبِّ بِرِسالَتِي وَالوَلايةِ لِعَلِيِّ بنِ أبي طالِب

"God is too Great [to describe] for perfecting His religion and completing His blessing and the Lord's satisfaction with my message and Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's leadership (*walāyah*)."

Moreover, Shaykh al-Islam Ḥammūʾī's hadith says:

اللهُ أكبرُ عَلَى تَمامِ نُبُوَّتِي وَتَمامِ دِينِ اللهِ بِوَلايةِ عَلِيٍّ بَعدِي

"God is too Great [to describe] for completing my prophethood, and completing God's religion through Ali's leadership (*walāyah*) after me."[212]

The Prophet also said after his sermon:

هَنِّئُونِي، هَنِّئُونِي إنَّ اللهَ خَصَّنِي بِالنُّبُوَّةِ وَخَصَّ أهلَ بَيتِي بِالإمامَة

"Congratulate me! Congratulate me because God has conferred prophethood on me, and conferred the imamate on my Household."

This clearly means the Household's imamate beginning with Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib's. Clearly convening a gathering and setting up a separate pavilion for congratulations and blessings, and the Imam's sitting in that tent as Master of the Faithful, the people's recourse, and commanding the believers to enter the pavilion and congratulate him, and the Prophet's sending his wives in to congratulate and bless him, all prove that Ali had been appointed as master, imam, and leader.

That, is why the two shaykhs, Abū Bakr and Omar, congratulated him on his becoming their leader. They said:

بَخٍ بَخٍ لَكَ يَا بنَ أبِي طالِبٍ، أصبَحتَ وَأمسَيتَ مَولايَ وَمَولَى كُلِّ مُؤمِنٍ وَمُؤمِنَة.[213]

"Bravo! Bravo to you, son of Abū Ṭālib! You have become, morning and evening, my master and the master of every believer, male and female!"

Numerous hadiths about the Day of Ghadīr refer to it as appointment (*naṣb*). God's Messenger says: "God commanded me to appoint (*anṣib*) your imam for you." *Naṣb* appears in many narrations along

with the word *walāyah*, in the sense of the appointment (*naṣb*) of the *walī*. That proves that it has to mean absolute rule over the entire nation.

This phrase sheds new light on the Master of the Faithful's status as conferred upon him by God that day; it was unprecedented. This status cannot just refer to love and assistance because there was a long precedence of this, as was apparent to all Muslims. The word *naṣb* is used exclusively for governmental and leadership appointments. For example, they say: "The sultan appointed (*naṣaba*) someone as governor or ruler of a certain place." They never say: "The Sultan appointed (*naṣaba*) someone as loving, helper, beloved, or recipient of help," a status shared by every member of society. It is as successor (*khalīfah*), leader (*imām*), executor (*waṣī*), and *chargé d'affaires* that the Prophet appointed (*naṣaba*) Ali by God's command.

Shaykh al-Islam Ḥammūʾī, via his chain from Sulaym Ibn Qays Hilālī, relates: "During Othman's 'caliphate,' I saw Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib sitting in the Prophet's mosque, and a group were discussing and reminding each other of knowledge, comprehension, and *Ḥadīth*."

He then relates the hadith in full, eventually reaching these words:

> Zayd Ibn Arqam, Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib, Salmān, Abū Dharr, Miqdād, and ʿAmmār stood up and said:
>
> > We testify that we have memorized what the Prophet said while standing atop the pulpit with you beside him:
>
> يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّ اللهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ أَمَرَنِي أَنْ أَنْصِبَ لَكُمْ إِمَامَكُمْ وَالْقَائِمَ فِيكُمْ بَعْدِي وَوَصِيِّي وَخَلِيفَتِي، وَالَّذِي فَرَضَ اللهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فِي كِتَابِهِ طَاعَتَهُ، قَرَنَهُ بِطَاعَتِهِ وَطَاعَتِي، وَأَمَرَكُمْ بِوَلَايَتِهِ. وَإِنِّي رَاجَعْتُ رَبِّي خَشْيَةَ طَعْنِ أَهْلِ النِّفَاقِ وَتَكْذِيبِهِمْ فَأَوْعَدَنِي لَأُبَلِّغَنَّهَا (ظ) أَوْ لَيُعَذِّبَنِي.[214]
>
> > O people! God, Mighty and Exalted is He, commanded me to appoint your imam for you, the person in charge of you after me, my executor and successor, obedience to whom Mighty and Exalted God has made incumbent upon the believers in His Book, and He has linked it to obedience to Him and obedience to me, and commanded you to accept him as master. I turned to my Lord for fear of criticism and rejection of me by the people of hypocrisy, so He warned me to deliver it. Otherwise He will punish me.

Sayyid Ali Shihāb al-Dīn Hamadānī quotes Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb as saying:

نصب رسول الله (ص) عليّاً علماً، فقال: من كنت مولاه فعليّ مولاه، اللّهمّ وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه، واخذل من خذله، وانصر من نصره، اللّهمّ أنت شهيدي عليهم.[215]

God's Messenger hoisted (*naṣaba*) Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib as a banner and said: "Whoever's master I am so too is Ali his master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master, be an enemy to whoever is his enemy, forsake whoever forsakes him, and help whoever helps him. O God, You are my witness against them!"

When the Prophet had finished his sermon, Ibn ʿAbbās said:

وجبت والله في رقاب القوم[216]

"By God, it has become a duty around the nation's necks."

If *walāyah* means "love and assistance," is there any conceivable explanation for what Ibn ʿAbbās said? That is, because neither love nor assistance is a duty around people's necks, whereas the appointment of an imam and caliph, meaning master and ruler, is a duty around the neck of anyone who wants to escape the responsibility and not flock under that government's banner.

Sayyid Riḍā Hindī's *Kawthariyyah* Ode

Now that we are reaching the end of our discussion on what *mawlā* means in the Ghadīr Hadith, I think it is very appropriate to quote, at this juncture, an ode by blessed Sayyid Riḍā Hindī, known as *al-Qaṣīdah al-Kawthariyyah*. We seek to achieve closeness to God through the Prophet's and the Master of the Faithful's precious souls and seek assistance from those two holy spirits that are greater than the Holy Spirit. We ask the unique Essence for the goodness and mercy to remove all impediments to the journey and fold up levels of closeness to those two greats.

This ode consists of fifty-four couplets, the first twenty-four of which seek to achieve closeness to God via God's Messenger and the rest of which seek to achieve closeness to God through the Master of the Faithful, Ali, and cite the virtues, merits, and achievements of that precious pearl of the world of contingency.

أمفلجٌ تغرُكَ أم جوهرٌ ودَحيقُ رُضابِكَ أم سُكَّرُ 1
قد قالَ لثغرِكَ صانِعُهُ إنّا أعطيناكَ الكوثرَ 2
والخالُ بخدِّكَ أم مِسكٌ نُقِطَتْ بهِ الوَردَ الأحمرُ 3
أم ذاكَ الخالُ بذاكَ الخدِّ فتيتَ النَّدِّ على مجمرُ 4
عجباً من جمرتِهِ تذكو وبها لا يحترقُ العنبرُ 5
يا مَن تبدو لي وفرتُهُ في صبحٍ محيّاهُ الأزهرُ 6
فاجنُ بهِ في الليلِ إذا يغشى والصبحِ إذا أسفرُ 7
ارحمْ أرقّاءَ لو تمرضْ بنحاسِ جفونِكَ لم تسهرُ 8
تبيضُّ لهجرِكَ عينايَ حزناً ومدامعُهُ تحمرُ 9
يا للعشّاقِ لفتونٍ بهوى رشأٍ أحوى أحمرُ 10
إن يندُ لذي طربٍ غنّى أو لاحَ لذي نُسُكٍ كبّرُ 11
أمنتُ هويّ ببُهوتِهِ وبعينيهِ سحرٌ يؤثرُ 12
أصفيتُ الودَّ لذي ملَلٍ عيشي بقطيعتِهِ كدّرُ 13
يا مَن قد أثّرَ هجرانِي وعليَّ بلقياهُ استأثرُ 14
أقسمتُ عليكَ بما أولتْ كَ النظرةُ من حسنِ المنظرُ 15
وبوجهِكَ إذ يحمرُّ حياً وبوجدِهِ محبُّكَ إذ يصفرُ 16
وبلؤلؤِ مبتسمِكَ المنظومِ ولؤلؤِ دمعيَ إذ ينثرُ 17
أن تتركَ هذا الهجرَ فلي سرٌ يليقُ بمثلِي أن يُهجرُ 18
فاجلِ الإقداحَ بصرفِ الرّا حِ عسى الأفراحُ بها تُنشرُ 19
واشغلْ يُمناكَ بصبِّ الكأ سِ وخلِّ يُسراكَ للمزهرُ 20
قدمُ العنقودِ وحُزنُ العودِ يُعيدُ الخيرَ ويَنفي الشرَّ 21
بكرٌ للسكرِ قبيلَ الفجرِ فصفوُ الدهرِ لمن بكّرَ 22
هذا عملي فاسألْ سُبلي إن كنتَ تقرُّ على النكرِ 23
فلقد أسرفتُ وما أسلفتُ لنفسي ما فيهِ أعذرُ 24
سودت صحيفه اعمالى ووكلت الامر الى حيدر 25
هو كهفى من نوب الدنيا وشفيعى فى يوم المحشر 26

قد تمّت لي بولايته نعم جئت عن ان تشكر 27

لاصيب بها الحظ الاوفى واخصّص بالسّهم الاوفر 28

بالحفظ من النار الكبرى والأمن من الفزع الاكبر 29

هل يمنعني وهو الساقي ان اشرب من حوض الكوثر 30

ام يطردني عن مائه وضعت للقانع والمعتر 31

يا من قد انكر من آيات ابي حسن مالا ينكر 32

ان كنت لجهلك بالايام جحدت مقام ابي شبر 33

فاسأل بدراً واسأل احدا وسل الاحزاب وسل خيبر 34

مَنْ دَبَّرَ فِيهَا الْأَمْرَ وَمَنْ أَرَدَ الْأَبْطَالَ وَمَنْ دَمَّرْ 35

مَنْ هَدَّ حُصُونَ الشِّرْكِ وَمَنْ شَادَ الاسْلَامَ وَمَنْ عَمَّرْ 36

مَنْ قَدَّمَهُ طه وَعَلَى أَهْلِ الإِيمَانِ لَهُ أَمَّرْ 37

فَاسَوْكَ أَبَا حَسَنٍ بِسِوَاكَ وَهَلْ بِالطَّوْدِ يُقَاسُ الذَّرّ 38

أَنَّى سَاوَوْكَ بِمَنْ سَاوَوْكَ وَهَلْ سَاوَوْا نَعْلَيْ قَنْبَرْ 39

مَنْ غَيْرُكَ مَنْ يُدْعَى لِلْحَرْبِ وَلِلْمِحْرَابِ وَلِلْمِنْبَرْ 40

أَضَلَّ الْحَيَّ إِذَا انْتَشَرَتْ فِي النَّاسِ فَأَنْتَ لَهَا مَصْدَرْ 41

وَإِذَا ذُكِرَ الْمَعْرُوفُ فَمَا لِسِوَاكَ بِهِ شَيْءٌ يُذْكَرْ 42

أَحْيَيْتَ الدِّينَ بِأَبْيَضَ قَدْ أَوْدَعْتَ بِهِ الْمَوْتَ الْأَحْمَرْ 43

قُطْباً لِلْحَرْبِ يُدِيرُ الضَّرْبَ وَيَجْلُو الْكَرْبَ بِيَوْمِ الْكَرّ 44

فَاصْدَعْ بِالْأَمْرِ فَنَاصِرُكَ النَّبَّارُ النَّبَّارُ وَشَانِئُكَ الْأَبْتَرْ 45

لَوْ لَمْ تُؤْمَنْ بِالصَّبْرِ وَكَظْمِ الْغَيْظِ وَلَيْتَكَ لَمْ تُؤْمَرْ 46

مَا نَالَ الْأَمْرَ أَخُو تَيْمٍ وَلَا تَنَاوَلَهُ مِنْهُ حَبَّرْ 47

مَا آلَ الْأَمْرُ إِلَى التَّحْكِيمِ وَزَايَلَ مَوْقِفَهُ الْأَشْتَرْ

لَكِنَّ أَعْرَاضَ الْعَاجِلِ مَا عَلِقَتْ بِرِدَائِكَ يَا جَوْهَرْ 48

أَنْتَ الْمُهْتَمُّ بِحِفْظِ الدِّينِ وَغَيْرُكَ بِالدُّنْيَا تَغْتَرّ 49

أَضَالَّتَ مَا كَانَتْ فِيهَا إِلَّا ذِكْرَى لِمَنْ اذَّكَّرْ 50

حُجَجاً أَلْزَمَتْ بِهَا الْخَصْمَاءَ وَتَبْصِرَةً لِمَنِ اسْتَبْصَرْ 51

آيَاتُ جَلَالِكَ لَا تُحْصَى وَصِفَاتُ كَمَالِكَ لَا تُحْصَرُ 52

مَنْ طَوَّلَ فِيكَ مَدَائِحَهُ عَنْ أَدْنَى وَاجِبِهَا قَصُرَ 53

فَاقْبَلْ يَا كَعْبَةَ آمَالِي مِنْ هَدْيِ مَدِيحِي مَا اسْتَيْسَرَ 54

1. Are those the front teeth with gaps between them in your mouth, or a gem, and is your saliva pure wine or sugar?
2. The Creator of your mouth said to it: *Surely We have given you Kawthar* (108:1).
3. Is it the beauty spot on your cheek or musk with which you have dotted the red rose?
4. Or that spot on that cheek you have crumbled as aloe on the censer?
5. Amazing how its embers grow, without the ambergris burning upon it.
6. O you, whose tails of hair hang down on the both sides of his bright and light face, appear to me.
7. I go mad about it in *the night when it draws a veil* (92:1) *And the daybreak when it shines* (74:34).
8. Have mercy upon the sleepless. Had he not fallen sick from the sleepiness of your eyelids, he would not be wakeful!
9. His eyes go blind out of sorrow over separation from you, and his lachrymal canals turn red.
10. O lovers! To one charmed by love for the blackish red young gazelle.
11. If he appears to a troubadour, he sings; and if he comes into the sight of a worshiper, he says: "God is too Great [to be described]."
12. Out of love, I believe in his prophethood, and being charmed by his eyes is preferred!
13. I made my love pure for the vexed one; my existence grieved over his rejection!
14. O you who have abandoned me, and preferred meeting someone other than me!
15. I swear by what handsome appearance you have been given
16. And by your face when it becomes red with shyness, and by the face of someone who loves you, when it becomes blanched!
17. And by the pearl arrangement of your teeth; and by the pearl of my tear when it is scattered—
18. That you may stop this abandonment; abandonment of someone like me is not appropriate!
19. So, pass around cups of wine; perhaps joys will be spread through them.
20. Busy your right by pouring the cup; and free your left hand for the lute.
21. Because the blood of the grapes and the sound of the lute restore good and dispel evil.

22. Rise early for intoxication a little before dawn, because the pick of time is for whoever rises early!
23. This is what I do! So follow my paths if you persist at wrongdoing!
24. I have been excessive, and I have not forwarded anything for my soul to excuse it!
25. I have blackened the scroll of my deeds and handed the matter over to Ḥaydar!
26. He is my refuge from the mishaps of the world, and my intercessor on the Day of Resurrection.
27. Through accepting him as master, blessings too many to give thanks for have been perfected for me
28. By which I can have the most fortune, and be conferred with the fullest share
29. With protection from the biggest fire, and safety from the greatest terror.
30. Would he deprive me of drinking from the Pool of Kawthar, when he is the water waiter?
31. Or shoo me away from the spread laid out for the abject and poor?
32. O you who denies verses undeniably about Abū al-Hasan!
33. If, because of your ignorance of battles, you deny the status of Abū Shubbar
34. Ask Badr, ask Uḥud, ask the Confederates and ask Khaybar!
35. Who looked after affairs, who downed heroes and who destroyed?
36. Who tore down the fortresses of polytheism, built Islam, and ensured survival?
37. Whom did Ṭā Hā promote and put in charge of all the people of faith?
38. O Abū al-Hasan, they compared you to others, but to a mountain does straw compare?
39. How could they compare you with those who were hostile to you but did they even compare to Qanbar's sandals?!
40. Who else but you should be called to wage war, to the prayer niche, and to the pulpit?
41. Even if good deeds are widespread among people, you are the source of them.
42. When what is right is mentioned, nothing worth mentioning belongs to anyone else but you!
43. You kept the religion alive with your sword with which you dealt out the red death!
44. An axis to the warfare, steering the strike, relieving the sorrow on the day of attack.
45. So, proclaim the command, your ally the cutting destroyer; and he who hates you is he whose [blessing] is cut off.
46. Had you not been ordered to be patient and swallow your anger—I wish you had not been—
47. Then, Taym's brother (Abū Bakr) would not have seized power, nor would Ḥabtar (Omar) have eaten of it

The leadership would not have gone to adjudication and Ashtar would not have left his post.[217]

48. However, the accidents of fleeting life did not cling to your garment, O essence!
49. You are the only one who cares about the religion; everyone else is dazzled by the world.
50. There was nothing in your actions but a reminder for anyone who would learn.
51. Proofs by which you forced your enemies to accept and enlightenment for whoever reflects.
52. The signs of your majesty are too numerous, and attributes of your perfection are innumerous!
53. Whoever praises you at length still falls short of his minimum obligation!
54. So accept, Kaʿbah of my hopes, as much sacrifice—my praise—as has been feasible.

The majority of scholars believe that this entire ode is about the Master of the Faithful. However, I believe that the first fourteen couplets, i.e. from:

أمفلج ثغرك ام جوهر

are about the Prophet. Firstly, all historians say that the Prophet was

مفلج الأسنان

which means that he had gaps between his front teeth. Secondly, the second person pronominal suffix in

إنّا أعطيناك الكوثر

refers to God's Messenger. Thirdly, the twelfth couplet says:

آمنتُ هوىً بنبوّته

and obviously the prophethood was God's Messenger's. Then, couplet sixteen says:

وبوجهك إذ يحمر

and a person becomes red in the face from shyness (*ḥayā'*). Historians say, referring to God's Messenger:

وهو رجل حيي

"he was a very shy (*ḥayyī*) man"; similarly the rest of the first fourteen couplets are about God's Messenger.

From couplet fifteen:

سوّدتُ صحيفة اعمالي ووكلتُ الامر الى حيدر

up to the end of the ode is about the Master of the Faithful, and truly the poet has composed it beautifully.

They say that he won first prize for it in the competition held in Iraq to compose the best poem in praise of the Master of the Faithful.

وَلِكُلِّ بَيْتٍ بَيْتٌ فِي الْجَنَّةِ رَحِمَهُ اللهُ رَحْمَةً وَاسِعَةً وَحَشَرَهُ مَعَ مَوَالِيهِ بِمُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ الطَّاهِرِينَ.

And for every couplet may he have a room in Heaven. May God have abundant mercy on him and raise him with his masters, by Muhammad and his pure Family.

Ibn ʿAsākir relates via his chain from ʿAmmār Duhnī, from Abū Fākhitah:

أَقْبَلَ عَلِيٌّ وَعُمَرُ جَالِسٌ فِي مَجْلِسِهِ، فَلَمَّا رَآهُ عُمَرُ تَضَعْضَعَ وَتَوَاضَعَ وَتَوَسَّعَ لَهُ فِي الْمَجْلِسِ. فَلَمَّا قَامَ عَلِيٌّ قَالَ بَعْضُ الْقَوْمِ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِنَّكَ تَصْنَعُ بِعَلِيٍّ صَنِيعاً مَا تَصْنَعُهُ بِأَحَدٍ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ مُحَمَّدٍ! قَالَ عُمَرُ: وَمَا رَأَيْتَنِي أَصْنَعُ بِهِ؟! قَالَ: رَأَيْتُكَ كُلَّمَا رَآيْتَهُ تَضَعْضَعْتَ وَتَوَاضَعْتَ وَأَوْسَعْتَ حَتَّى يَجْلِسَ! قَالَ: وَمَا يَمْنَعُنِي وَاللهِ إِنَّهُ لَمَوْلَايَ وَمَوْلَى كُلِّ مُؤْمِنٍ.[218]

Ali approached when Omar was sitting in his ["caliphal"] court; then when Omar saw him, he became submissive, behaved humbly, and made room for him in his court. Thereafter, when Ali left, one of the people said: "O commander of the faithful [sic], you do to Ali what you do not do to any of Muhammad's other companions!"

Omar asked: "What did you see me do to him?!"

[The person] replied: "I saw you be submissive, behave humbly, and make room for him to sit whenever you see him!"

[Omar] said: "What is stopping me? By God, he is my master, and every believer's master."

Al-Futūḥāt al-Islāmiyyah says:

Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib passed judgment against a Bedouin, and the Bedouin was not happy with his judgment, so Omar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb seized him by the collar and told him:

ويلك انه مولاك ومولى كل مؤمن ومؤمنه

"Woe unto you! He is your master, and the master of every believer, male and female!"[219]

Ṭabarānī relates that somebody told Omar:

إِنَّكَ تَصْنَعُ بِعَلِيٍّ أَيْ مِنَ التَّعْظِيمِ شَيْئاً لَا تَصْنَعُ مَعَ أَحَدٍ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ [وَآلِهِ] وَسَلَّمَ فَقَالَ: إِنَّهُ مَوْلَايَ.[220]

"You do to Ali [i.e. honor] what you never do to any of the Prophet's [other] companions!"

So he said: "He is my master!"

ENDNOTES

[1] ᶜAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr fī al-Kitāb wa al-Sunnah wa al-Adab* (Tehran: Ḥaydarī, 1373 AH), vol. 4, p. 150, quoting from *Dīwān Ḥammād ᶜAbdī*, poet to and devotee of the Household in the fourth century, may God be pleased with him.

[2] Abū Nuᶜaym Aḥmad Ibn ᶜAbdillāh al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al Awliyāʾ wa Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyāʾ* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat al-Khānjī wa Maṭbaᶜat al-Saᶜādah, 1351 AH), vol. 1, p. 86.

[3]

جَاءَتْ سُلَيْمَانَ يَوْمَ الْعَرْضِ قُبَّرَةٌ بِضِلْعِ جَرَادٍ كَانَ فِي فِيهَا

فَاجَتْ خَفِيَّ الصَّوْتِ وَاعْتَذَرَتْ إِنَّ الْهَدَايَا عَلَى مِقْدَارِ مُهْدِيهَا

On the day of the tattoo a lark brought Solomon a locust's rib that was in its beak. It called out softly and apologetically: "Gifts are commensurate with the giver!"

[4] SR: See Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *al-Mīzān* (Qom: Jamāᶜat al-Mudarrisīn, n.d.), vol. 17, pp. 157–58 quoting from Ṣadūq, *Maᶜānī al-Akhbār* and Ṣadūq, *ᶜUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā* before commenting that this is as per Nāfiᶜ's, Ibn ᶜĀmir's, Yaqūb's, and Zayd's reading of the Qurʾan. For information on variant readings generally, refer to books by both Sunni and Shiᶜa scholars on the subject, e.g. Muhammad Hādī Maᶜrifat, *Introduction to the Sciences of the Qurʾan* (Tehran: SAMT, 2014), volume 2, pp. 145–207.

[5] Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn ᶜAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (Beirut, n.p., n.d.), *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 4, p. 410.

[6] *Ḥilyat al Awliyāʾ*, vol. 1, p. 63.

[7] A *khawfah* or *kuwwah* is a small frameless skylight.

[8] Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī Mūsawī, *Ghāyat al-Marām* (Tehran: lithograph, Dār al-Ṭabāᶜat ᶜAlī Qulī Khān Qājār, 1372 AH), pp. 219–22, hadith 9.

[9] Summarized from ᶜAbd al-Mālik Ibn Hishām al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat Madanī, 1383 AH), vol. 3, pp. 781–84; Faḍl Ibn Hasan Ṭabarsī, *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān* (Sidon: Maṭbaᶜat al-ᶜIrfān, 1333 AH), vol. 5, pp. 116–19; Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* (n.p., Kompānī, 1302 AH), vol. 6, pp. 562, quoting *Tafsīr Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm*.

[10] Faḍl Ibn Hasan Ṭabarsī, *Iᶜlām al-Warā bi Aᶜlām al-Hudā* (Beirut: Dār al-Maᶜrifah, 1399 AH), p. 138; Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Bābawayh (Shaykh Ṣadūq), *ᶜIlal al-Sharāʾiᶜ* (Najaf: n.p., n.d.), p. 413; Abū Jaᶜfar

Muhammad Ibn Yaʿqūb Kulaynī, *Furūʿ al-Kāfī* (Tehran: Maktabat al-Ṣadūq, 1381 AH), vol. 4, pp. 249–56.

[11] Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Juzī, *al-Wafāʾ bi Aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā* (Cairo, Muʾassasat al-Saʿīdiyyah Maṭbaʿat al-Gaylānī, 1976), vol. 1, p. 210; Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Haykal, *Ḥayāt Muhammad* (*The Life of Muhammad*) (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍah, 1968), p. 461.

[12] *Ḥayāt Muhammad*, p. 461.

[13] i.e. a minor pilgrimage after which the pilgrim exits pilgrim sanctity before commencing the *ḥajj*.

[14] Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Tafsīr al-Mīzān* (n.p., Islāmiyyah, 1386 AH), vol. 2, p. 490 citing *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*.

[15] Muhammad Ibn Saʿd Hāshimī Baṣrī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1376 AH), vol. 1, p. 244.

[16] *Ḥayāt Muhammad*, pp. 474–75.

[17] *Ḥayāt Muhammad*, p. 475.

[18] RD: God did indeed say so, but Omar's interpretation of the verse is wrong because the reference to the Book in the verse is to the Book in the sense of the Creationary Decree. This much is clear from the beginning of the verse: *And there is no animal that walks upon the earth nor a bird that flies with its two wings but (they are) genera like yourselves.*

[19] Abū al-Qāsim Ali Ibn Husayn Ibn Hibatillāh Shāfiʿī (Ibn ʿAsākir), *Tārīkh Dimashq* (Beirut: Dār al-Taʿāruf li al-Maṭbūʿāt, 1395 AH), vol. 2, pp. 307–11.

[20] ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* (Cairo, Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyyah ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Shurakāʾuh,1378 AH), vol. 12, pp. 78–79.

[21] ʿAbd al-Maqṣūd, *Imām Ali* (Beirut: Manshūrāt Maktabat al-Wifāq, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 220.

[22] Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, Dār Beirut, n.d.), vol. 7, p. 101; Muhammad Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk* (n.p. Saʿādat, 1358 AH), vol. 7, p. 397; Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn Jabal ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿah* (Damascus: Maṭbaʿat Ibn Zaydūn, 1363 AH), vol.15, p. 291, biographical note on Jaʿfar Ibn Husayn, who narrates this incident from Ghāzī Abū al-Makārim Muhammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Mālik Ibn Ahmad Ibn Hibatillāh Ibn Jurādah Ḥalabī, in the commentary on Abū Firās'z *Mīmiyyah* ode known as *al-Shāfiyah*, in which he says that Marwān Ibn Abī Ḥafṣah said: "I recited poetry to Mutawakkil in which I referred to the Shiʿa (Rāfiḍah), and he gave me the governorates of Bahrain and Yamāmah, and gave me four robes of honor."

The author of *Aʿyān* then cites poetry by Jaʿfar Ibn Husayn in response to Marwān Ibn Abī Ḥafṣah. It begins as follows:

قُلْ لِلَّذِی بِفُجُورِهِ فِی شِعْرِهِ ظَهَرَتْ عَلَامَة

"Say to him for whom a mark has appeared because of his depravity in his poetry..." Marwān Ibn Abī Ḥafṣah's poetry and Jaʿfar Ibn Husayn's in response to it is cited in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 4, pp. 175–76, under the heading "Poets of the Ghadīr in the fourth century," quoting from *Aʿyān al-Shīʿah*.

[23] *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārikh*, vol. 7, p. 101.

[24] Imām Ali's words as compiled by Sharīf Raḍī, commentary by Muhammad Abduh, *Nahj al-Balāghah* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat ʿĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, n.d.), Sermon 222.

[25] Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ, *al-Firdaws al-Aʿlā* (n.p., Maktabat Fayrūzābādī, n.d.) pp. 20–21.

[26] The Prophet's saying is cited in Muhammad Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyyah al-Kubrā Maṭbaʿat Maymanah, 1334 AH), vol. 1, p. 6: "People are mines—like gold and silver mines—so the best of them in the time of ignorance are the best of them in Islam when they understand"; Mahdī Nirāqī, *Jāmiʿ al-Saʿādāt* (Najaf: lithograph, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 24, cites the same hadith but omits "when they understand."

[27] Muhammad Husayn Gharawī Iṣfahānī, *Dīwān Gharawī Iṣfahānī* (Tehran, Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1364 AH), pp. 28–30.

[28] *Ḥilyat al Awliyāʾ*, vol. 1, pp. 66–67; Shaykh Sulaymān Ibn Ibrāhīm Qundūzī Ḥanafī, *Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah* (Islāmbūl: Maṭbaʿat Akhtar, 1301 AH), p.134, chapter 45; Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Muʾayyad Ḥammūʾī, *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Maḥmūdī, 1400 AH), vol. 1, p. 151, chapter 30.

[29] *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, pp. 152–53, chapter 30; Muwaffaq Ibn Aḥmad Khārazmī, *al-Manāqib* (Najaf: Maṭbaʿah Ḥaydariyyah, n.d.), p. 26; *Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah*, p. 134, chapter 45.

[30] *Manāqib*, p. 109; *Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah*, p. 134, chapter 45.

[31] *Manāqib*, pp. 23–25, chapter 5; *Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah*, pp. 134–35, chapter 45.

[32] The word "there" is an unfortunate linguistic constraint imposed by English. There is no such problem in Arabic, which says: "Be for them..." to translate literally.

[33] *Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah*, p. 135, chapter 45.

[34] *Manāqib*, pp. 55–56, chapter 7.

[35] Juḥfah was a big township four days' journey from Mecca. This township used to have its own pulpit and mosque for prayer. Friday congregational prayer was held, and sermons were delivered there. Its original name was Mahyaʿah, but a flood had destroyed it (*ajḥafahā*), so it was renamed Juḥfah. The distance between Juḥfah and the coast is about six miles. Reference: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq Baghdādī, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ ʿalā Amkinat al-Arḍ wa al-Biqāʿ*, vol. 1, p. 315. A *ghadīr* is a pond that fills up in the rainy season but gradually dries up during the hot summer. Khumm is a man's name or a reed-bed (*ghayḍah*) found in the marshland by a river. Alternatively it means a place where a spring gushes out, or it is the name of a well that was dug by Murrah Ibn Kaʿb by the stream. These are the various explanations given for the name Ghadīr Khumm, given to a place on the way from Mecca to Medina and is two or three miles from Juḥfah. There is a mosque there, built in God's Messenger's honor (*Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, vol. 1, p. 482).

[36] Ghiyāth al-Dīn Ibn Humām al-Dīn Ḥusaynī (Khwānd ʿĀmir), *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (n.p., Khayyam, 1333 SH), vol. 1, p. 410, part 3.

[37] Gum-acacias (*samur*) are fair-sized thorny shrubs (*iḍāh*). No shrub has better wood. The singular form is *samurah*, and the plural is *samurāt*.

[38] Abū al-Fidāʾ al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Kathīr Dimashqī, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Saʿādah, 1351 AH) says:

> Nisāʾī narrates in his *Sunan* from Muhammad Ibn Muthannā, from Yaḥyā Ibn Ḥammād, from Abū Muʿāwiyah, from Aʿmash, from Ḥabīb Ibn Abī Thābit, from Abū Ṭufayl, from Zayd Ibn Arqam:

لَمَّا رجع رسول الله من حجة الوداع ونزل غدير خم أمر بدَوحاتٍ فَقُمِمْنَ ثم قال: كأني قد دُعِيتُ فَأَجَبْتُ إني قد تركت فيكم الثقلين: كتابَ الله وعترتي أهل بيتي. فانظروا كيف تخلفوني فيهما فإنهما لن يفترقا حتى يردا عَلَيَّ الحوضَ. ثم قال: الله مولاي وأنا ولي كل مؤمن. ثم أخذ بيد علي فقال: من كنتُ مولاهُ فهذا وَلِيُّهُ، اللهم وَالِ مَن والاهُ وعَادِ مَن عاداهُ. فقلت لزيد: سمعت من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم؟ فقال: ما كان في الدَّوحات أحد إلا رآه بعينيه وسمعه بأُذنيه.

When God's Messenger returned from the Farewell Pilgrimage, he stopped at Ghadīr Khumm. He ordered many-branched trees be piled up, then said: "It is as if I have been called, so I must answer. Surely I am leaving two weighty things among you: God's Book and my Family, my Household. Watch how you treat them after I am gone because they will not separate from each other until they come to me at the pool." He then said: "God is my Master and I am the master of every believer." He then took Ali's hand and said: "Whoever's master I am, this [man] is [also] his master. O God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy." I then asked Zayd: "Did you hear [it] from God's Messenger?" and he replied: "No one was in the trees who failed to see it with his own eyes and hear it with his own ears."

Nisāʾī is the only one to relate this hadith this way. Our shaykh Abū ʿAbdillāh Dhahabī says: "This hadith is authentic."

[39] I have only found the phrase

إِنَّهُ لَمْ يُعَمَّرْ نَبِيٌّ إِلَّا مِثْلَ نِصْفِ عُمُرِ الَّذِي قَبْلَهُ

in Sunni books, not Shiʿa ones. In any event, it needs to be explained. As is well known, God's Messenger lived for sixty-three years, whereas his predecessor Jesus, son of Mary, only lived for forty years. Sixty-three is obviously not half of forty; the best explanation is that the lifespan actually means the length of his prophethood, which in the Prophet's case was twenty-three years, just twenty of which were spent publicly delivering the message to the people. According to Qurʾan 19:29–30, Jesus was a Prophet from his birth:

فَأَشَارَتْ إِلَيْهِ قَالُوا كَيْفَ نُكَلِّمُ مَنْ كَانَ فِي الْمَهْدِ صَبِيًّا ۝ قَالَ إِنِّي عَبْدُ اللَّهِ آتَانِيَ الْكِتَابَ وَجَعَلَنِي نَبِيًّا

But she pointed to him. They said: How should we speak to one who was a child in the cradle? He said: Surely I am a servant of God; He has given me the Book and made me a prophet.

[40] *al-Ghadīr*, vol.1, pp. 10–11; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 1, pp. 410–11, part 3; Ibn Khwānd Shāh (Amīr Khwānd Balkhī), *Rawḍat al-Ṣafāʾ* (n.p., lithograph, n.d.), vol. 2, Ḥajjat al-Widāʿ; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 5, pp. 209–10, cites an abridged version of the hadith on the authority of Barāʾ Ibn ʿĀzib that includes "Whoever's master I am, so [too] is Ali his master," and Omar's congratulatory words: "Congratulations! You have become morning and evening..."

It is narrated in full in Ibn al-Maghāzilī, *Manāqib ᶜAlī Ibn Abi Ṭālib* (Tehran: Maktabat Islāmiyyah, 1394 AH), pp. 16–18; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, *al-Ṣawāᶜiq al-Muḥriqah fi al-Radd ᶜalā Ahl al-Bidaᶜ wa al-Zandaqah*, p.25, and *Farāᵓid al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, pp. 64–65, Simṭ 9, hadiths 30–31. It is cited in *Biḥār al-Anwār* vol. 9, pp. 199–200 on the authority of *Tafsīr Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm*; ibid., pp. 201–2, from Ṣadūq, *Khiṣāl*; ibid., p. 202, from the Shaykh's *Amālī*.

[41] *al-Ghadīr*, vol.2, p. 39 from Muḥaqqiq Fayḍ Kāshānī, *ᶜIlm al-Yaqīn*, and from Sulaym Ibn Qays al-Hilālī, *Kitāb Sulaym* (Najaf: n.p., n.d.). A similar wording is narrated in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 214–16 from Abū Jaᶜfar Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī, *al-Walāyah*, a book about the chains of narration of the Ghadīr Hadith. It also appears in *Iᶜlām al-Warā bi Aᶜlām al-Hudā*, pp. 137–40; *Farāᵓid al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, pp. 74–75; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, section 1, p. 87, hadiths 71 and 72 on the authority of Ḥammūᵓī; *Rawḍat al-Ṣafāᵓ*, vol. 2, "On the Incident of the Ghadīr, Concluding the Story of the Farewell Pilgrimage"; *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (Ḥaydarī), vol. 1, p. 411; *Kitāb Sulaym*, pp. 228–29; *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 9, p. 222 quoting *Kitāb Sulaym*; Qāḍī Nūrullāh Shūshtarī, *Majālis al-Muᵓminīn* (Tehran: Dār al-Ṭabāᶜah ᶜAlī Qulī Khān Qājār, 1299 AH), p. 21, Majlis 1.

[42] Shaykh Husayn Ibn Alī Ibn Muḥammad Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī, *Rawḍ al-Jinān wa Rūḥ al-Janān* (*Tafsīr Abī al-Futūḥ Rāzī*) (n.p., Muẓaffarī, n.d.), vol. 2, p. 193.

[43] Ahmad Ibn Abī Yaᶜqūb, *Tārīkh al-Yaᶜqūbī* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir/Dār Bayrūt, 1379 AH), vol. 2, p. 112.

[44] SR: The men pledging allegiance clapped hands with the imam.

[45] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 270 from Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī, *al-Walāyah*; Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ṭabarī Khalīlī, *Manāqib ᶜAlī Ibn Abi Ṭālib* (Cairo, n.p., 411 AH).

[46] *Rawḍat al-Ṣafāᵓ*, vol. 2, *Wāqiᶜat Ḥajjat al-Widāᶜ* ("The Incident of the Farewell Pilgrimage"); *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, vol. 1, part 3, p. 411; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 271 citing Mawlawī Waliyyullāh Likahnawī, *Mirᵓāt al-Muᵓminīn* (*The Mirror of the Pious*).

[47] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 270–71; he also narrates the incident on the authority of *al-Nashr wa al-Ṭayy*. The end of the hadith is quoted in Aḥmad Ibn Ali al-Ṭabarsī, *al-Iḥtijāj* (n.p., Islāmiyyah, 1384 AH), vol. 1, p. 84.

[48] *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 9, pp. 203–5.

[49] Ṭabarsī, Abū Manṣūr Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the author of *al-Iḥtijāj* was from the town of Sārī, which was a town in the north of Iran, as was his student. Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Shahr Āshūb Sarwī Māzandarānī. [Ṭabarsī] died in 588 AH. He lived in the middle of the sixth century, and was a contemporary of Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī and Faḍl Ibn Ḥasan Ṭabrisī, from Tafrish, the author of *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān*. He relates via two intermediaries from Shaykh Ṭūsī and via several from Ṣadūq. The First Martyr (Shahīd I) frequently cites his decrees and opinions in *Ghāyat al-Murād*. His book *Kitāb al-Iḥtijāj alā Ahl al-Lijāj* is well known and reliable.

[50] *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāᶜ*, vol. 3, p. 1153, says that Kurāᶜ al-Ghamīm is a place in the Ḥijāz, between Mecca and Medina, eight miles before ᶜAṣfān; this Kurāᶜ is a black mountain on the edge of Ḥarrah stretching towards it.

[51] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 228.

[52] Ṭabarsī, *al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 1, p. 84; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 228.

[53] This hadith is narrated in one edition of *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, p. 82 from Thaᶜlabī, from Sufyān Ibn ᶜUyaynah, directly from Imam Ṣādiq without mentioning his father. Apparently this is correct, because blessed Majlisī narrates the very same hadith in *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Kompānī), vol. 9, pp. 216–17 from Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm's exegesis, from Thaᶜlabī's. He relates it from Sufyān, from Imam Ṣādiq. If anyone asks: "What is wrong with Sufyān's narrating it without an intermediary in one place and from Imam Ṣādiq and from Imam Bāqir via the intermediary of his son elsewhere? Are they not just two hadiths that do not contradict each other, narrated via one chain of transmission in *Tafsīr Abī al-Futūḥ*, and via another in *Tafsīr Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm*?" The answer is that books on hadith narrators (*rijāl*), such as Āyatollāh Sayyid Abū al-Qāsim al-Khūʾī, *Muᶜjam Rijāl al-Ḥadīth* (Najaf: Maṭbaᶜat al-Ādāb, 1970), vol. 8, p. 159, no. 5237; vol. 13, p. 239, nos. 9251–52, and Shaykh ᶜAbdullāh Māmaqāni, *Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl* (Najaf, Maṭbaᶜat al-Murtaḍawiyyah, n.d.), vol. 2, pp. 39–40 and 364, say that it was Sufyān's father ᶜUyaynah Ibn Maymūn (Abū ᶜImrān) who was a companion of Imam Bāqir [not Sufyān]. Furthermore, scholars narrate this hadith in their exegesis on the authority of *Tafsīr al-Thaᶜlabī* and no other source, so it is one hadith, not two. The possibility of its being a narration on the authority of Imam Bāqir is just that, a hypothetical possibility.

The source of this hadith quoted by both Sunni and Shi'a scholars in their exegeses and books on merits (*manāqib*) is *Tafsīr al-Tha'labī* according to *Tafsīr Majma' al-Bayān*, which we will address later. So to reiterate, it is just one hadith and not two different ones.

[54] *Tafsīr Abī al-Futūḥ al-Rāzī*, vol. 2, p. 194; Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Anṣārī Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi' li-Aḥkām al-Qur'an* (*Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī*) (Cairo: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1387 AH), vol. 18, pp. 287–88; *Tadhkirat Khawāṣṣ al-Ummah* (Iran: n.p., 1418 AH), p. 19; *Farā'id al-Simṭayn*, pp. 93, 82–83, section 15; Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf Zarandī Ḥanafī, *Naẓm Durar al-Simṭayn fi Faḍā'il al-Muṣṭafā wa al-Murtaḍā wa al-Batūl wa al-Sibṭayn* (Najaf: Maṭba'at al-Qaḍā', 1377), p. 93; Abū al-Faraj 'Alī Ibn Burhān al-Dīn Ḥalabī Shāfi'ī, *Insān al-'Uyūn fi Sīrat al-Amīn al-Ma'mūn* (*al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*) (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Azhar, 1353 AH), pp. 308–9; Sayyid Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr al-Manār* (Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifah, n.d.), vol. 6, p. 464; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 19, p. 79; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, vol. 2, p. 397, section 117, and two Sunni hadiths and six Shi'a hadiths on p. 398, section 118; 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ṣabbāgh al-Mālikī, *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah* (Tehran: lithograph, 1307 AH), pp. 26–27; ibid. (Najaf), p. 24.

[55] *Majma' al-Bayān* (Sidon), vol. 5, p. 352.

[56] Ed: i.e. from (*'an*) A from (*'an*) B from (*'an*) C etc.

[57] God's calling them "the guards" (*al-mustaḥfaẓīn*) is an allusion to

فِيهَا هُدًى وَنُورٌ يَحْكُمُ بِهِ النَّبِيُّونَ الَّذِينَ أَسْلَمُوا لِلَّذِينَ هَادُوا وَالرَّبَّانِيُّونَ وَالْأَحْبَارُ بِمَا اسْتُحْفِظُوا مِنْ كِتَابِ اللَّهِ وَكَانُوا عَلَيْهِ شُهَدَاءَ

in which was guidance and light; with it the prophets who submitted themselves (to God) judged (matters) for those who were Jews, and the rabbis and the scholars, because they were required to guard (part) of (bi mā [u]stuḥfiẓū min) *the Book of God, and they were witnesses thereof* (5:44).

[58] Majlisī says in *Mir'āt al-'Uqūl*:

> The standard (*mashhūrah*) codices say in Sūrat al-Ḥijr:
>
> لَا تَمُدَّنَّ عَيْنَيْكَ إِلَىٰ مَا مَتَّعْنَا بِهِ أَزْوَاجًا مِنْهُمْ وَلَا تَحْزَنْ عَلَيْهِمْ وَاخْفِضْ جَنَاحَكَ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ
>
> and in Sūrat al-Naḥl:
>
> وَاصْبِرْ وَمَا صَبْرُكَ إِلَّا بِاللَّهِ وَلَا تَحْزَنْ عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا تَكُ فِي ضَيْقٍ مِمَّا يَمْكُرُونَ
>
> and in Sūrat al-Zukhruf:
>
> فَاصْفَحْ عَنْهُمْ وَقُلْ سَلَامٌ فَسَوْفَ يَعْلَمُونَ

However, the Imam may have quoted two verses, one of the first two as well as the second, and the omission was by the narrators or copyists. Alternatively, the Imam might have been referring to two verses by quoting the beginning of one and the end of the other, or been paraphrasing, or it is worded that way in their codex. (ᶜAllāmah Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, *Mirʾāt al-ᶜUqūl* (n.p., lithograph, n.d.), vol. 3, pp. 273–74).

[59] Majlisī says in *Mirʾāt al-ᶜUqūl*:

Standard codices say in Sūrat al-Ḥijr:

وَلَقَدْ نَعْلَمُ أَنَّكَ يَضِيقُ صَدْرُكَ بِمَا يَقُولُونَ فَسَبِّحْ بِحَمْدِ رَبِّكَ وَكُنْ مِنَ السَّاجِدِينَ

and in Sūrat al-Baqarah:

قَدْ نَعْلَمُ إِنَّهُ لَيَحْزُنُكَ الَّذِي يَقُولُونَ فَإِنَّهُمْ لَا يُكَذِّبُونَكَ

The same applies to this verse as to the previous one:

وَلَا تَحْزَنْ عَلَيْهِمْ وَقُلْ سَلَامٌ

(*Mirʾāt al-ᶜUqūl*, vol. 3, 274).

[60] In the standard Qurʾanic codex, the vowel over the *ṣād* in the imperative is a *fatḥah* (*fa[a]nṣab*), which means "exert" or "strive in worship or struggle." These narrations that refer to hoisting the Master of the Faithful as a banner have to have a *kasrah* under the *ṣād*. There are three possible explanations: 1) The Household have an alternative recitation; 2) Even with a *fatḥah* over the *ṣād*, it can still mean "hoist"; or 3) The imam is referring to the end result, i.e. "tire yourself out by hoisting up your executor no matter what you hear the hypocrites say!"

[61] Abū Naṣr Muḥammad Ibn Masᶜūd Ibn ᶜAyyāsh Sulamī, *Tafsir al-ᶜAyyāshī* (Qom: Maṭbaᶜat ᶜIlmiyyah, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 328; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 35; Sayyid Hāshim Baḥrānī, *al-Burhān fi Tafsir al-Qurʾan* (n.p., lithograph, n.d.), vol. 1, p. 483.

[62] *Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī*, vol. 1, p. 329; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, pp. 206–7; *Tafsīr al-Burhān*, vol. 1, p. 485.

[63] *Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī*, vol.1, pp. 331–32; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 207; *Tafsīr al-Burhān*, vol. 1, p. 489. *Ghāyat al-Marām*, vol.1, p. 336, hadith 4; *al-Mīzān*, vol.6, pp. 54–55; *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān* (Sidon), vol. 2, p. 223. ᶜAlī Ibn ᶜĪsā Irbilī, *Kashf al-Ghummah fi Maᶜrifat al-Aʾimmah* (n.p., Dār al-Ṭabāᶜah Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭihrānī, 1294 AH), p. 94 cites the Ghadīr Hadith, the background to the revelation of 5:67, and Ḥassān Ibn Thābit's verses, all on the authority of Ibn ᶜAbbās.

[64] *Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī*, vol.1, p. 332; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, vol.1, p. 326, hadith 5; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 207; *Tafsīr al-Burhān*, vol. 1, p. 489; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol. 6, p. 55.

[65] *Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī*, vol.1, p. 334; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, vol.1, p. 336, hadith 8; *Tafsīr al-Burhān*, vol. 1, p. 490; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 207.

[66] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, vol.1, p. 336.

[67] *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol.9, p. 207.

[68] *Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī*, vol. 1, p. 334; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, vol. 1, p. 336, hadith 8; *Tafsīr al-Burhān*, vol. 1, p. 490; *Biḥār al-Anwār*, vol. 9, p. 207; *Tafsīr al-Mīzān*, vol.6, p. 55.

[69] Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-Manthūr fī Tafsīr al-Manthūr* (n.p., Dār al-Maᶜrifah, 1404 AH), vol. 2, p. 298.

[70] ᶜAbdullāh Ibn Ahmad Ḥākim Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl li Qawāᶜid al-Tafḍīl* (n.p., Majmaᶜ Iḥyāʾ al-Thiqāfah al-Islāmiyyah, 1411 AH), vol.1, pp. 187–93, hadiths 243–50. Two of these hadiths from *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*—narrated by Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr and Ibn ᶜAbbās–are quoted in *Majmaᶜ al-Bayān* (Sidon), vol. 2, p. 223.

[71] Fakhr Rāzī, *Tafsīr Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb* (Cairo: Dār al-Ṭabaᶜah al-ᶜĀmirah, n.d.), vol. 3, p. 636.

[72] Niẓām al-Dīn Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad Qummī Nīshābūrī, *Tafsīr Gharāʾib al-Qurʾan wa Raghāʾib al-Furqān* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1381 AH), vol. 6, p. 129.

[73] Maḥmūd Ibn ᶜAbdillāh Ālūsī, *Rūḥ al-Maᶜānī fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾan wa al-Sabᶜ al-Mathānī* (n.p., Dār al-Ṭabāᶜat al-Munīriyyah, n.d.), vol. 6, pp. 192–93.

[74] *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn fī Faḍāʾil al-Murtaḍā wa al-Batūl wa al-Sibṭayn*, vol. 1, p. 158.

[75] *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah* (Tehran: lithograph, 1302 AH), p. 27, ibid. (Najaf: Maṭbaᶜat ᶜAdl, n.d.), pp. 24–25. *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāᶜ*, vol. 1, p. 482 says: "There is a mosque named after the Prophet there."

[76] Muḥammad Ibn Ṭalḥah Shāfiʿī, *Maṭālib al-Saʾūl fī Manāqib al-Rasūl* (n.p., lithograph, n.d.), p. 16.

[77] Abū al-Ḥasan Ali Ibn Ahmad al-Wāḥidī al-Nīsābūrī, *Asbāb al-Nuzūl* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1400 AH), p. 150; *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah*, p. 27; *al-Mīzān*, vol. 6, p. 60.

[78] *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah* (Islāmbūl: n.p., 1301 AH), vol. 1, p.120.

[79] *Mawaddat al-Qurbā*; the entire hadith is quoted in *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah*, vol. 1, p. 249, Mawaddah 5.

[80] *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* (n.p., Ṭabᶜ Ḥaydarī, n.d.), introduction by Humāʾī, vol. 1, p. 411. It must be known that the chronicle *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* is a reliable book. Ḥājj Khalīfah Kātib Çelebi, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* (Islāmbūl: Tabᶜ ᶜUthmānī, 1360 AH), vol. 1, p. 419 says: "This book is one of the most reliable and useful books." Ḥusām al-Dīn describes it as a reliable book in *Murāfiḍ al-Rawāfiḍ*. Abū al-Ḥasanāt Ḥanafī cites it repeatedly in *al-Fawāʾid al-Bahiyyah*, and considers it to be a reliable book.

[81] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 214–23.

[82] *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, vol. 3, p. 636; *Tafsīr al-Manār*, vol. 6, p. 467.

[83] *Tafsīr Mafātiḥ al-Ghayb*, vol. 3, p. 635.

[84] Shaykh Jawharī Ṭanṭāwī, *al-Jawāhir fi Tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (Cairo: Maṭbaᶜat al-Mūsawiyyah, 1378 AH), vol. 3, p. 201.

[85] This is an indubitable prophetic hadith transmitted by not only the Shiᶜa but also reliable Sunni books too numerous to mention, so much so that Shāh Waliyyullāh Dihlawī cites it in a section dedicated to a biographical entry on the Master of the Faithful in his book *Izālat al-Khafāʾ ᶜan Khilāfat al-Khulafāʾ* (Lahore: Suhayl, 1396 AH), vol. 2, pp. 260–61. This entry is well worth scrutinizing. He tells the story of Ghadīr Khumm in vol. 2, p. 259, and concedes the truthfulness of the Guardianship Hadith in these words:

من كنت مولاه فان مولاه علی

"Whoever's master I am, so too is his master Ali." He tells the story of the Ghadīr as follows: "When he returned from the Farewell Pilgrimage, he delivered a sermon in Ghadīr Khumm, which included making public Murtaḍā's merits."

The hadith is narrated by al-Ḥākim, Abū ᶜAmr, and some others; and this is what al-Ḥākim says on the authority of Zayd Ibn Arqam:

لما رجع رسول الله (ص) من حجة الوداع ونزل غدير خم امر بدوحات فقممن، قال: كأني قد دعيت فاجبت. انی قد ترکت فیکم الثقلین: احدهما اکبر من الآخر کتاب الله تعالی وعترتی، فانظروا کیف تخلفونی فیهما فانهما لن یتفرقا حتی یردا علی الحوض. ثم قال: ان الله عزوجل مولای وانا ولی کل مؤمن. ثم أخذ بید علی رضی الله عنه فقال: من کنت ولیه فهذا ولیه، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه.

"When God's Messenger returned from the Farewell Pilgrimage and stopped at Ghadīr Khumm, he ordered that many-branched trees be piled up. He said: 'It is as if I have been called and I will have to answer. Surely I have left among you the two weighty things. One of them is heavier (*akbar*) than the other—the Exalted God's Book—and my family. Watch how you look after them for me, because they will not separate from each other until they come to me at the Pool. God, Mighty and Sublime, is my Master, and I am the master of every believer.' He then took Ali's hand and said: 'Whoever's master I am, so too is this [man] his master. O, God, be a Guardian to whoever accepts him as master and an enemy to whoever is his enemy.'"

[86] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 226.

[87] *Tafsīr Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, vol. 3, pp. 635–36.

[88] *Tafsīr Gharā'ib al-Qur'ān*, vol. 6, pp. 129–30.

[89] Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān fī ʿUlūm al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Mūsawiyyah, 1378 AH), vol. 1, p. 75.

[90] The year 6 AH is called the Year of Ḥudaybiyyah because the Treaty of Ḥudaybiyyah was signed that year.

[91] *Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī*, vol. 6, p. 30.

[92] *Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī*, vol. 6, p. 244.

[93] This ode is by Abū Muhammad al-Manṣūr Billāh (596–670 AH). He was a Zaydī Imam in Yemen, and was one of the sons of Yaḥyā al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaqq al-Yamānī. He was a man of literature and famous Arab poet and was very proficient in this field. A biographical entry on him and his *Ghadīriyyah* appear in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 5, pp. 418–24. It is said that this ode comprises 708 couplets arranged in pairs. Amīnī quotes sixty-two pairs, but we only quote six pairs for the sake of brevity.

[94] The allusion is to Chapter 11, "Hūd," verse 17:

أَفَمَن كَانَ عَلَىٰ بَيِّنَةٍ مِّن رَّبِّهِ وَيَتْلُوهُ شَاهِدٌ مِّنْهُ وَمِن قَبْلِهِ كِتَابُ مُوسَىٰ إِمَامًا وَرَحْمَةً أُولَٰئِكَ يُؤْمِنُونَ بِهِ وَمَن يَكْفُرْ بِهِ مِنَ الْأَحْزَابِ فَالنَّارُ مَوْعِدُهُ فَلَا تَكُ فِي مِرْيَةٍ مِّنْهُ إِنَّهُ الْحَقُّ مِن رَّبِّكَ وَلَٰكِنَّ أَكْثَرَ النَّاسِ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ

Is he then who has insight from his Lord and a witness of his [kind] follows him and before him was Moses' Book, an example and a mercy? Those believe in it; and whoever of the (different) parties disbelieves in it, surely it is the truth from your Lord, but most people do not believe (11:17).

وَيَتْلُوهُ شَاهِدٌ مِّنْهُ

and a witness of his [*kind*] *follows him* indubitably means Ali Ibn Abī Ṭālib. [Ed.: See *Knowing the Imams*, vol. 4, for further details.]
[95]

وَأُولُوا الأَرْحَامِ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلَى بِبَعْضٍ فِي كِتَابِ اللهِ

Blood relations are closer to each other in God's ordinance (33:6).

[96] For example, Ibn Ḥajar Haythamī in *Taṭhīr al-Lisān*, published as notes in the margin of *al-Ṣawāᶜiq al-Muḥriqah* (n.p., Ṭabᶜ Shaddah, n.d.), and which is about Muᶜāwiyah's purported virtues, does not approve of any criticism of any companions so that it does not spread to [criticism of] the caliphs! He complains on page 94:

وقد علمت مما قدّمته في معنى الإمساك من ذلك أنّ عدم الإمساك اما يكون واجباً لا سيّما مع ولوع العوامّ به، ومع تأليف صدرت من بعض المحدثين كابن قُتيبة مع جلالته القاضية بأنّه كان ينبغي أن لا يذكر تلك الظواهر؛ فإن أبى إلّا ذكرها فليبيّن جريانها على قواعد أهل السنة حتى لا يتمسك مبتدع أو جاهلٌ بها

"Now, you have learned from what I have presented about refraining from that, that failure to refrain is either incumbent, especially when vulgar people relish in it and because of publications by some traditionists such as Ibn Qutaybah, in spite of his eminence, which dictates that he should not cite these incidents. If he insists on citing them, he should explain them in accordance with Sunni rules so that an innovator or ignorant person cannot rely on them."

[97] Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-Aᶜmāl* (n.p., lithograph, 1411 AH), p. 435.

[98] *al-Manāqib* says his name was Numayrī, but ᶜAllāmah Mīr Ḥāmid Ḥusayn Lak-hanawī, *ᶜAbaqāt al-Anwār* (Isfahan: Muʾassasat Nashr Kutub Makhṭūṭah, 1364 AH), *al-Ghadīr* volume 9, says ᶜĀmir Ibn ᶜUmayr al-ᶜUmayrī; *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 46, says ᶜĀmir Ibn ᶜUmayr al-Numayrī.

[99] Muḥammad Ibn Shahr Āshūb Māzandarānī, *al-Manāqib* (n.p., lithograph, n.d.), vol. 1, pp. 528–29.

[100] ᶜ*Abaqāt*, volume on the Ghadīr, pp. 8–9. As Mīr Ḥāmid Husayn himself says at the beginning of this book: "I have written this book to refute *al-Tuḥfat al-ᶜAzīziyyah*"; in writing the book, he benefitted greatly from the knowledge of his grandfather, ᶜAllāmah Mawlā Muhammad Qulī. Mawlā Sayyid Muhammad Qulī, a great scholar of Islam and defender of Shiᶜism, wrote *Tashyīd al-Maṭāᶜin wa Kashf al-Ḍaghāʾin* as a refutation of *al-Tuḥfat al-Ithnā ᶜAshariyyah*.

He was born in 1188 and died in 1268 AH, in the city of Lucknow. *Al-Tuḥfat al-Ithnā ᶜAshariyyah* is by Shāh Waliyyullāh Ṣāḥib Hindī; Khājeh ᶜAbdullāh Kābulī copies him in *Ṣawāᶜiq*, corroborating him.

[101] Ibn Maghāzilī Shāfiᶜī, a great Sunni scholar who died in 483; according to Ibn Ḥajar ᶜAsqalānī, in *Lisān al-Mizān*, Ibn Biṭrīq studied imamate jurisprudence and theology with al-Ḥummaṣī al-Ramzī. He lived in Baghdad for some time, then went to Wāsiṭ, occupying himself with worship. He died in Shaᶜbān, in 600 AH, at the age of seventy-seven.

[102] *Muntahā al-Kalām* was written by Mawlawī Ḥaydar Ibn Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan Fayḍ Ābādī after *Tuḥfah-i Ithnā ᶜAshariyyah*.

[103] *ᶜAbaqāt*, vol. on the Ghadīr, pp. 10–11.

[104] *ᶜAbaqāt*, vol. on the Ghadīr, pp. 34, 35.

[105] *ᶜAbaqāt*, vol. on the Ghadīr, p. 37.

[106] Shaykh Āqā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīᶜah ilā Taṣānīf al-Shīᶜah* (Najaf/Tehran/Qom: Maṭbaᶜat al-Gharī/ Chāpkhānah Majlis/ Ismāᶜīliyyān, 1369 AH) says Husayn Ibn Jubayr.

[107] This hadith has been narrated on the authority of Juwaynī by Shaykh Sulayman Ḥanafī Qundūzī in *Yanābīᶜ al-Mawaddah*, p. 36; ᶜAllāmah Amīnī narrates it from *Yanābīᶜ* in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 158. It appears in *Ghāyat al-Marām*, vol. 1, p. 103, quoted from Ibn Shahr Āshūb, from his grandfather Shahr Āshūb, from Juwaynī.

[108] *ᶜAbaqāt*, volume on the Ghadīr, pp. 42, 43.

[109] ᶜAllāmah Amīnī in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 156–57, cites Mīr Ḥāmid Husayn as one of the twenty-one writers on the hadith. By way of biographical note, he says: "Sayyid Mīr Ḥāmid Husayn Ibn Sayyid Muhammad Qulī Mūsawī Hindī Lak-hanawī died at the age of sixty in 1306 AH. He wrote about the Ghadīr Hadith in two very thick volumes comprising 1008 pages. These two volumes are part of his magnum opus *ᶜAbaqāt*. This great and pure Sayyid, like his father, was one of God's swords drawn on His enemies, a victorious banner of truth and Islam (*al-dīn*), and one of God's great signs by which He completed His evidence and clarified His argument. The sweet aroma of his book *ᶜAbaqāt* diffused all over the world. His *Ḥadīth* has spread to the eastern and western horizons. Anyone who familiarizes himself with this inimitable book will find that falsehood does not assail it from the front or rear. We have benefited greatly from his knowledge deposited in this great book. So we will always be grateful to him and his pure father—may God, the Exalted, bless them both."

[110] He says: "Ghadīr Khumm is very famous, and is a place where God's Messenger stopped and delivered a sermon on the Master of the Faithful's virtues—as per one edition of *Jamharah*. However, Ibn Shahr Āshūb quotes from manuscripts of *Jamharah*: 'It is the place where the Prophet explicitly appointed Ali [as guardian]. However, the editor's hand corrupted it!'"
[111] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, vol. 1, p. 79, hadith 6.
[112] Ibid., p. 80, hadith 11.
[113] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 80, hadith 16.
[114] Ibid., hadith 17.
[115] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 80, hadith 19.
[116] *Ghāyat al-Marām* says

قد أسرعت

meaning: "I hurriedly entered the twentieth year."
[117] It is certain that the Prophet lived for sixty-three years, so when he says: "I am into the twentieth," he means the length of his prophethood, i.e. twenty-three years from start to finish. If we take away the first three years of secret proselytization prior to the revelation of

فَاصْدَعْ بِمَا تُؤْمَرُ وَأَعْرِضْ عَنِ الْمُشْرِكِينَ

Therefore declare openly what you are bidden and turn aside from the polytheists (15:94), that leaves twenty years of public prophetic mission. That is half of Jesus's lifespan of forty years. [Jesus] was a prophet throughout his life, having been made one in his infancy:

قَالَ إِنِّي عَبْدُ اللَّهِ آتَانِيَ الْكِتَابَ وَجَعَلَنِي نَبِيًّا وَجَعَلَنِي مُبَارَكًا أَيْنَ مَا كُنتُ وَأَوْصَانِي بِالصَّلَاةِ وَالزَّكَاةِ مَا دُمْتُ حَيًّا

He said: Surely I am a servant of God; He has given me the Book and made me a prophet; and He has made me blessed wherever I may be, and He has enjoined on me prayer and almsgiving so long as I live (19:30–31).
[118] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, pp. 81–82, hadith 27; *Manāqib Ibn al-Maghāzilī*, pp. 16–18, hadith 23; *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 88, hadith 79 says on the authority of Ali Ibn Ahmad Mālikī that the Prophet said: "A prophet has only ever lived half as long as his predecessor."

[119] In *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 89, hadith 88, *Ibn Maghāzilī* is quoted as narrating a prophetic hadith similar to this one: "A prophet has only ever lived half as long as whoever preceded him. Jesus, son of Mary, was allowed to live for forty years, and I am now into my twentieth."
[120] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 82, hadith 30; *Manāqib Ibn al-Maghāzilī*, pp. 25–26, hadith 37.
[121] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, 84, hadith 49; *Manāqib al-Khārazmī*, pp. 134–35.
[122] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 84, hadith 56.
[123] *Khibā'* means a tent made of wool, fur, or hair. *Fusṭāṭ* means a tent made of camel hair.
[124] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 85, hadith 61; *Farā'id al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, pp. 62–63, hadith 29.
[125] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 84, hadith 48; *Manāqib al-Khārazmī* (Najaf), p. 130; *Manāqib al-Khārazmī* (n.p., lithograph, n.d.), p. 126.
[126] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 86, hadith 64; *Farā'id al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, p. 66, hadith 32. *Farā'id* says that Omar Ibn ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz asked: "From which Hāshimites?" He replied: "Ali's kinsman (*mawlā*)!" He asked: "Ali's kinsman?" I then fell silent.
[127] We should be aware that as explained above, on the Prophet's Farewell Pilgrimage, the first of Dhū al-Ḥijjah was a Thursday, making ᶜArafah a Friday, and the Ghadīr (18th Dhū al-Ḥijjah) a Sunday. However, some chronicles and narrations say that it was a Thursday.
[128] Some editions say *al-taᶜāriyā*, but *al-taᶜāmiyā* ("pretense not to know") is more likely.
[129] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 87, hadith 72; *Farā'id al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, pp. 74–75.
[130] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 2, pp. 34–39.
[131] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 88, hadith 77.
[132] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 89, hadith 83.
[133] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 89, hadith 85.
[134] SR: As previously mentioned, the Khārijites are known as the "through-and-throughs" because, as per a well-known hadith that refers metaphorically to the substance of the religion as its blood and guts, they pass straight through the religion like arrows to which none of the substance [or blood and guts] sticks. "Through-and-through" is a ballistics term that describes this phenomenon precisely—a projectile that passes through cleanly, with just an entry wound and exit wound without doing any serious internal damage. It is thus an appropriate translation of *māriq*.

[135] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 89, hadith 86.
[136] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 90.
[137] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 90, hadith 2.
[138] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 91, hadith 6.
[139] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 91, hadith 8; Ali Ibn Ibrāhīm, *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, (n.p., lithograph, n.d.), p.538.
[140] Ed: The reader is reminded that Omar's tribe was ʿAdī [and Abū Bakr's was Taym].
[141] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 92, hadith 17.
[142] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 92, hadith 18.
[143] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 94, hadith 22, Shaykh Ṭūsī, *Amālī al-Shaykh* (Najaf: n.p., 1383 AH), p. 231, Majlis 8.
[144] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 94, hadith 23; *Amālī al-Shaykh*, p. 252, Majlis 9.
[145] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 94, hadith 24; *Amālī al-Shaykh*, p. 253, Majlis 9.
[146] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 94, hadith 27; *Amālī al-Shaykh*, pp. 343–44, Majlis 12.
[147] *Ghāyat al-Marām* pp. 94–95, hadith 30, and *Amālī al-Shaykh*, vol. 1, part 12, pp. 361–62.
[148] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 95, hadith 31; *Amālī al-Shaykh*, vol. 2, part 18, pp. 131–32.
[149] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 95, hadith 32; Abū ʿAlī Ṭūsī, *Amālī Ibn al-Shaykh* (published together with *Amālī al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī*) (Najaf: n.p., 1383 AH), vol.2, pp. 158–59; *Amālī al-Shaykh*, vol. 2, Majlis of Friday, 4th of Muharram, 457, pp. 158–59.
[150] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, pp. 95–96, hadith 34; *Amālī al-Shaykh*, vol. 2, pp. 170–71.
[151] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 96, hadith 35; *Amālī al-Shaykh*, vol. 2, pp. 172–73.
[152] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, p. 96, hadith 36.
[153] *Ghāyat-al-Marām*, p. 96, hadith 38.
[154] Muḥammad Ibn Nuʿmān (Shaykh Mufīd), *al-Amālī* (Qom: Jāmiʿat al-Mudarrisīn, 1403 AH), pp. 26–27, Majlis 3.
[155] SR: "God is too Great [to be described]," as an expression of dismay over how quickly people had forgotten her father.
[156] In *al-Nihāyah*, Ibn al-Athīr says *ḥawr* instead of *jawr*, i.e. "I seek refuge in God from decrease after increase" as opposed to "I seek refuge in God from injustice after increase."
[157] *Ghāyat al-Marām*, pp. 96–97, hadith 39.
[158] *Ghāyat-al-Marām*, p. 103.

[159] Dr. Ḥāmid ᶜInāyat, *Tafakkur Nūyin Siyāsī Islām* (*Modern Political Thought in Islam*) (n.p., n.p., n.d.), translated by Abū Ṭālib Ṣārimī, p. 39.

[160] *Tafsīr al-Manār*, vol. 6, pp. 464–65.

[161] *Tafsīr al-Manār*, vol. 6, p. 467.

[162] Muḥammad Farīd Wajdī, *Dāᵓirat al-Maᶜārif* (Beirut, Dār al-Maᶜrifah, 1971), vol. 7, p. 218 onward.

[163] *Dāᵓirat al-Maᶜārif*, vol. 3, p. 745.

[164] ibid., p. 749.

[165] *Tafsīr Abī al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 193.

[166] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 2, p. 180–83 abridged.

[167] Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ Shawāhid al-Mughnī* (n.p., Tabᶜ Lajnat al-Turāth al-ᶜArabī, n.d.), has a further couplet: "And I am not one of those whose anxiety chides birds, no matter whether a crow caws or a fox objects"; Abū al-Faraj Iṣfahānī, *al-Āghānī* (n.p., Ṭabᶜat Sāsī, n.d.), vol. 15, pp. 119–20, within his reading to Farazdaq.

[168] Because Umm Ḥabībah, Abū Sufyān's daughter, i.e. Muᶜāwiyah 's sister, was one of the Prophet's wives. The Qurᵓan says: *and his wives are their mothers* (33:6), so Muᶜāwiyah exploited this verse to invent a title for himself—the Maternal Uncle of the Believers, a title that he used in the Levant.

[169] At the Battle of Uḥud, Muᶜāwiyah's mother Hind made a necklace out of the Master of the Martyrs' liver, wore it on her neck, and then tried to eat it.

[170] Ibn Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib*, vol. 1, p. 356; Yāqūt Ibn ᶜAbdillāh Ḥamawī, *Muᶜjam al-Udabāᵓ* (Cairo: Maktabat ᶜĪsā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, n.d.), vol. 14, p. 48; *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, vol. 8, pp. 8–9; *Farāᵓid al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, p. 427, chapter 70, couplets narrated on the authority of the Master of the Faithful. It begins: "When the Imam had read Muᶜāwiyah's letter, he said..."

[171] The names of the authors are taken from *al-Ghadīr*, pp. 26–30.

[172] *Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, p. 530; *Tafsīr Abī al-Futūḥ al-Rāzī*, vol. 2, p. 193; Abū ᶜAlī Ibn Fattāl Nayshābūrī; *Rawḍat al-Wāᶜiẓīn wa Baṣīrat al-Muttaᶜiẓīn* (n.p., n.p., n.d.), p. 90. Ibn Fattāl mistakenly attributes these couplets to ᶜAlī Ibn Aḥmad Fanjkirdī and Fanjkirdī's

يوم غدير سوى العيدين لي عيد

to Qays Ibn Saᶜd Ibn ᶜUbādah.

[173] Sayyid Ismāʿīl Ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥimyarī, *Dīwān al-Ḥimyarī* (Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, n.d.), pp. 111–12; these four couplets are nos. 100–3 of an ode consisting of 113 couplets.
[174] *Dīwān al-Ḥimyarī*, p. 198.
[175] *Dīwān al-Ḥimyarī*, p. 420.
[176] *Manāqib*, p. 531.
[177] Abū al-Qāsim al-Tanūkhī: Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abī al-Fahm Dāwūd Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Tamīm Ibn Jābir Ibn Hānī Ibn Zayd Ibn ʿUbayd Ibn Mālik...Ḥārith Ibn ʿAmr (the king of Tanūkh)...Yaʿrib Ibn Qaḥṭān.
[178] Sayyid Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā, *Dīwān al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā* (Cairo: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyyah, 1958), vol. 2, pp. 36–37; five couplets are quoted in *Manāqib Ibn Shahr Āshūb*, vol. 1, p. 538.
[179] Abū ʿAlī Ibn Fattāl Nayshābūrī, *Rawḍat al-Wāʿiẓīn* (n.p., n.p., n.d.), p. 90, which says at the end of the fourth couplet:

يُوَثِّر

but because this does not make sense, we assume he meant

يَأْثِر

Ibn Shahr Āshūb quotes two out of these four couplets in *Manāqib*, vol. 1, p. 540.
[180] ʿAllāmah Āyatollāh Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī Ṭihrānī, *Imām Shināsī* (*Knowing the Imams*) (Mashhad: Intishārāt ʿAllāmah Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 1417 AH), vol. 5, lessons 61–62, p. 15–20. The meanings of the words *walī* and *mawlā* are explained fully there; however, we summarize here, too, as is relevant to the discussion.
[181] Ali Ibn Muḥammad Jurjānī (Mīr Sayyid Sharīf), *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif* (Qom: Maṭbaʿat ʿĀmir, 1412 AH), p. 611, says in the course of citing the evidence relied on by the Shiʿa that the *Walāyah* Hadith refers to the imamate:

ولانها (أى المعانى المذكورة) تشترك فى الولاية فيجب الحمل عليها وجعل اللفظ حقيقة فى هذا القدر المشترك دفعاً للاشتراك اللفظى

"because [the aforementioned definitions] all mean 'closeness,' so it should be construed as such, and the word be interpreted literally as referring to the shared meaning to avoid homonymous lexical assignment." Āyatollāh Amīnī, in *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, p. 370, cites twenty-seven different definitions of *mawlā* and concludes that the shared meaning is "that which is closest to a thing."

[182] Saᶜd al-Dīn Taftazānī, *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid*, (n.p., n.p., n.d.), p. 289.
[183] Mawlā ᶜAlāᵓ al-Dīn Qūshchī, *Sharḥ Tajrīd al-Iᶜtiqād* (n.p., lithograph, n.d.); the pages are unnumbered.
[184] Muḥammad Ibn ᶜAzīz Sijistānī, *Nuzhat al-Qulūb fī Tafsīr Gharīb al-Qurᵓān al-ᶜAzīz* (n.p., n.p., n.d.), p. 154.
[185] This ode by Lubayd Ibn Rabīᶜah is one of the seven *muᶜallaqāt*.
[186] *Tafsīr Abū al-Futūḥ*, vol. 2, pp. 197–98.
[187] *Tadhkirat Khawāṣṣ al-Ummah*, pp. 19–20.
[188] *Maṭālib al-Saᵓūl*, pp. 16–17.
[189] *Imām Shināsī* (*Knowing the Imams*), vol. 5, lessons 61–62.
[190] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 362–70, abridged.
[191] *Tafsīr Abī al-Futūḥ al-Rāzī*, vol. 2, p. 198.
[192] These couplets are part of the ode that ᶜAmr Ibn al-ᶜĀṣ sent to Muᶜāwiyah from Egypt when Muᶜāwiyah wanted to dismiss him as governor of Egypt. He made him reconsider through this ode. Sayyid Niᶜmatullāh Jazāᵓirī quotes it in *al-Anwār al-Nuᶜmāniyyah* (n.p., Maṭbaᶜat Ḥājj Mūsā Ṭihrānī, 1280 AH), pp. 38–39.
[193] Abū Tamām Ḥabīb Ibn Aws, *Dīwān Abī Tamām al-Ṭāᵓī* (Cairo: Dār al-Maᶜārif, 1964), p. 143; Khaṭīb has a biographical entry on Abū Tamām in *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 8, pp. 248–53, under the heading *Ḥabīb Ibn Aws Abū Tamām al-Ṭāᵓī*, the poet.
[194] This ode is by Abū Muhammad Sufyān Ibn Muṣᶜab ᶜAbdī Kūfī (*al-Ghadīr*, vol. 2, p. 292).
[195] Abū Rashīd ᶜAbd al-Jalīl al-Qazwīnī al-Rāzī, *Baᶜḍ Maqālib al-Nawāṣib fī Naqḍ Baᶜḍ Faḍᵓiḥ al-Rāfiḍ* (*Kitāb al-Naqḍ*) (Chāpkhānah Intishārāt Sepehr, n.d.), p. 247, says that Mahyār Ibn Marzūyah the Scribe was one of Khusraw Anūshirwān the Just's grandsons.
[196] *Tafsīr al-Fakhr al-Rāzī*, vol. 8, p. 131.
[197] *Nuhāᵓ* means water rising over the surface of the earth; Ṣaᶜāᵓid is a place name.
[198] Lubayd Ibn Rabīᶜah, *Dīwān Lubayd* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1386 AH), pp. 172–73.
[199] Qāḍī Ḥusayn Ibn Aḥmad Zawzanī, *Sharḥ al-Muᶜallaqāt al-Sabᶜ* (n.p., lithograph, 1273 AH), p.78.
[200] Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī, *Jāmiᶜ al-Bayān* (*Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*) (Cairo: Sharikat Maktabat wa Maṭbaᶜat Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa Awlādihi), vol. 9, p. 117.
[201] ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn ᶜAlī Ibn Juzī, *Zād al-Masīr fī ᶜIlm al-Tafsīr* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, n.d.).

[202] Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, n.d.).
[203] Maḥmūd Ibn Omar Zamakhsharī, *Tafsīr al-Kashshāf* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿah Sharqiyyah, 1307), vol. 2, p. 435. SR: In Arabic a noun of place can refer to a person or persons. An example is *al-Ziyārah al-Jāmiʿat al-Kabīrah* in which the Imams are addressed as

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and the depository of the Message (*mawḍi*=place to deposit). A person can be a *maʾannah* as per Zamakhsharī's words because he is so generous that he is the place to go for generosity, or a source of generosity.
[204] *Tafsīr al-Kashshāf*, vol. 2, p. 435.
[205] Qāḍī Nāṣir al-Dīn Bayḍāwī, *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Taʾwīl* (Cairo: Maktabatat al-Jamhūriyyah al-Miṣriyyah, n.d.), p.555.
[206] ʿAlī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Baghdādī (Khāzin), *Lubāb al-Taʾwīl fī Maʿānī al-Tanzīl* (Cairo, Maṭbaʿat Muṣṭafā Muḥammad, n.d.)
[207] al-Ījī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, p. 612.
[208] Abū Ḥafṣ Omar Ibn Abī al-Ḥasan al-Ḥammūʾī, *Dīwān Ibn Fāriḍ* (Beirut, Dar Beirut/Dar Sadir, 1382 AH).
[209] *Tafsīr Rawḍ al-Jinān wa Rūḥ al-Janān*, vol. 2, p. 192.
[210] Muḥammad Rūmī Balkhī, *Mathnawī* (Tehran: Mīrkhānī, 1371 AH), vol. 6, p. 641, line 23.
[211] Often translated as a present tense verb in English when in the protasis, e.g. whoever *flocks* under his authority.
[212] *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, p. 74, hadith 40, via his chain from Khārazmī, via an unbroken chain from (*muttaṣilan ʿan*) Abū Hārūn ʿAbdī, from Abū Saʿīd Khūdrī, from God's Messenger.
[213] *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, chapter 9, hadiths 30, 31, and 65; chapter 11, p. 71, hadith 38; chapter 13, p. 77, hadith 44; *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl*, vol. 1, p. 157, hadith 120; p. 158, hadith 213; *Tārīkh Ibn ʿAsākir*, vol. 1, p. 48, hadiths 246–47, p. 76, hadith 577, p. 78, hadith 578, p. 76, hadith 575. One of Ibn ʿAsākir's hadiths says:

اصبحت مولای ومولی کل مسلم

"You have become my master and the master of every Muslim."
[214] *Farāʾid al-Simṭayn*, vol. 1, chapter 58, pp. 315–16, hadith 50.
[215] *Mawaddat al-Qurbā*, quoting from *Yanābīʿ al-Mawaddah* (Istanbul), p. 249.
[216] *Kashf al-Ghummah*, p. 94.

[217] Tr: By being assassinated.
[218] *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol. 1, p. 82, hadith 582.
[219] Sayyid Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān, *al-Futūḥāt al-Islāmiyyah* (n.p., n.p., n.d.).
[220] *al-Ghadīr*, vol. 1, pp. 382–83. He also says that Zarqānī Mālikī cites it in *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib*, p. 13, on the authority of Dāraquṭnī.

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